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Assassination in Portugal

The annals of political assassination record no more terrible crime than that by which, on Saturday last, King Carlos of Portugal and the Crown Prince, Luiz Felipe, were killed in the streets of Lisbon. The second son, Manuel, who succeeds to the throne, was wounded, and the Queen escaped as if by a miracle, for one of the assassins was aiming at her at close range when he was shot down. The perpetrators of this crime are alleged by some to be Anarchists, but the weight of opinion seems to be that they were Radical Republicans and that their crime was part of a plot to overthrow the monarchy entirely and to establish a republic. Their number is variously put at from three to ten. It is thought that the plans included the killing of Senhor Franco, the Premier, who has of late been practically a dictator, but, if so, this part of the plot failed. The political condition of Portugal has for some time been deplorable; it has been claimed that parliamentary government had become a farce; that the two parties by agreement occupied the offices in turn, and indulged in the worst possible corrupt practices, financially and politically. This was the excuse for the dissolution of Parliament, the dictatorship of Franco, the suspension of the constitution, and many arbitrary measures. On the other hand, there has been, especially in Lisbon, a strong Red Republican party which has not hesitated to plot revolution. Still another party maintained the pretensions of Dom Miguel to the throne. The leaders of this party denounce the assassination, but it remains to be seen how far some of them may have encouraged a conspiracy which adopted assassination as the only means open whereby to break the existing despotism. Personally, King Carlos was extremely popular, and the Crown Prince was a young man of fine qualities. The sympathy of the world, quite apart from political and international considerations, will go out earnestly to Queen Amelia in her double bereavement. The new King's first act was to confirm the present, or Franco, Ministry in office.

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Secretary Taft and the Philippines

In transmitting to Congress Secretary Taft's report upon his recent trip to the Philippines, President Roosevelt adds his hearty concurrence in Mr. Taft's recommendations. These are four: First, action by Congress admitting to the United States Philippine products under such conditions that they will not interfere with American tobacco and sugar industries; second, the removal of restrictions as to acquiring mining claims and lands; third, further legislation authorizing the Government to carry on an agricultural bank which is now authorized only as a private enterprise; fourth, the repeal of the law applying to the islands the coastwise laws of the United States. The Secretary's recommendation regarding the tariff on sugar and tobacco is frankly a compromise. It is of the same sort as that which resulted in free trade between the United States and Porto Rico. It is a compromise, however, not of principle but of form. Between the alternatives of insisting on free trade without qualification, which promised indefinite postponement, and free trade under such qualifications as will secure to the islands the benefits which the Filipinos request and as will relieve American producers from a perhaps causeless, though selfish, fear, the Secretary has, with statesmanlike acumen, chosen the latter. Inasmuch as the terms of this suggestion originally came from a manufacturers'

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association, it seems unlikely that they can be successfully opposed in Congress. This, moreover, is not a new suggestion, but was a recommendation made by Governor Ide two years ago. The most interesting side of Mr. Taft's report is that which pictures the Filipinos as they are exercising their new governmental powers. The character of the elections to the new Assembly did not promise rapid progress in learning self-government; but the performance of the Assembly has been better than the promise of the voters. Real power has sobered the people and their leaders. To use Mr. Taft's own words:

> Thus far the Assembly has not manifested in any way that obstructive character which those who have prophesied its failure expected to see, and who, in this respect, paradoxical as it may appear, are equally disappointed with those anti-imperialists who have hopefully looked to the Assembly as a means of embarrassing the present Government.

Mr. Taft, however, warns us that, because the Filipinos are now exercising with discretion power under the restraint of the United States, we are not to suppose that they are capable of the exercise of greater power without a long process of education. Mr. Taft's report with regard to the Assembly gives much the same impression as that given by Mr. Blakeslee's recent article in The Outlook. The Filipino legislators evidently regard themselves as being on trial, and are determined that their action shall commend them to the people of the United States. It is not surprising that a man of Mr. Taft's human sympathy and practical common sense should find cause for something like exultation over such a spirit as they have shown. His account of the improvement in sanitation and hygiene secured by the United States is astonishing. When Mr. Taft discusses education, it is not an interesting pedagogical experiment that absorbs him; nor, when he discusses the Assembly, is it the pleasure of the game of politics; nor, when he discusses the commercial prosperity, is it an economic curiosity with regard to the islands; what concerns him, whether he discusses education or politics or economics, is his human interest in the social welfare of the Filipinos as men and women. Nothing illustrates this better than Mr. Taft's discussion of the sugar industry. He asserts that it not only is not likely to grow beyond a certain size on account of some inevitable economical impediments, but that it would be disastrous if it did become the exclusive industry of the islands, for—

> The social conditions that this would bring about would not promise well for the political and industrial development of the people, because the cane sugar industry makes a society in which there are wealthy landowners holding very large estates with most valuable and expensive plants and a large population of unskilled labor, with no small farming or middle class tending to build up a conservative, self-respecting community from bottom to top.

This attitude of mind toward the Philippines as expressed in Mr. Taft's report has characterized and should continue to characterize the dealings of the United States toward the people of the islands.

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Work and Women

For the first time in its history the United States Supreme Court has recently been called upon to decide the right of a State to regulate the working hours of adult women. A law of Oregon limits these hours to ten in one day in factories, mechanical establishments, and laundries. Curt Muller, a laundryman, attacked the constitutionality of this law, which was, however, upheld by the Oregon Supreme Court in 1906. The decision of the Federal Supreme Court, to which the case was appealed, will substantially determine the constitutionality of all laws restricting women's working hours in the United States. Such laws have been enacted in nineteen States, the earliest in Massachusetts in 1874, the latest more than a generation afterwards. These laws are not the result of an ephemeral public whim, but a deliberate public purpose. One of the leading members of the Boston bar, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, generously volunteered his services as associate counsel in arguing at Washington this Oregon case. Mr. Brandeis also submitted a brief which is of extraordinary interest, in that it brings before the Court the actual facts at issue in this case—that is,

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the effects, physical, moral, and economic, of regulating women's working hours. The publication of this brief marks a significant change in the defense of labor legislation. Hitherto cases involving constitutionality of statutes restricting women's working hours have been argued almost wholly upon their legal merits. Citations and arguments of counsel have been confined chiefly to the legal right of States, under their police powers, to enact necessary health measures, even if such restrictions interfere with the "freedom of contract" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. This right of States to restrict individual freedom in the interest of public health and welfare has been explicitly upheld by the highest State courts and by the Federal Supreme Court itself in important decisions. The real question at issue, therefore, in upholding the constitutionality of laws limiting women's working hours is no longer in the main a legal one, but rather medical and social. Argument no longer centers on the question whether a State *may* enact such statutes, but whether, as a matter of fact, such statutes *are* reasonable health measures, necessary for the public welfare. It is in emphasizing this important distinction, and in having brought before the Court the authoritative statements of medical and lay experts, that lies the unique value of the argument presented by the counsel for the State of Oregon. Mr. Brandeis marshals authorities in order to set before the Court the "facts of common knowledge" on which legislation of this sort has been based. These authorities show that long hours of labor for women in mechanical pursuits have ill effects on the health of the women employed (to a greater extent than such hours have upon men), on their safety, and on their morals—causing and increasing drunkenness, for instance; but, what is still more serious, these hours of work are a menace to the general welfare, for they insidiously and grievously impair the child-bearing functions of the workers, the mothers and future mothers of the race; they injure and even destroy homes, and are responsible for hosts of neglected children; they thus, in a double sense, bring evil upon future generations with cumulative force. The brief sets forth the beneficial effect, in all these respects, which has actually been secured by restrictive legislation. No one could be justified in attempting to anticipate the decision of the Supreme Court on this momentous case. On questions of this character, however, its decisions have not always been strictly uniform. This case, however, as argued, illustrates the fact, which Judge Amidon stated in an address last summer, that many of the questions which come before the courts in the form of constitutional questions are really questions in the interpretation of human, living conditions.

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Why Waste Forest Resources?

One distinguished statesman fell asleep, and others looked as if they would like to sleep, at the hearing last week, in the new House of Representatives Building, before the Committee on Agriculture on the proposed legislation to establish White Mountain and Appalachian Mountain National Forests. The cause for stupor was not found in lack of interest in the subject, but in the apparently poor ventilation, poor acoustics and arrangement of the Committee room. The eighteen members of the Committee were arrayed in a long line on one side. Facing them were Governors of States and other State officials, engineer and forestry experts, presidents and members of civic and of commercial and manufacturing associations representing a billion or two of capital. Such a body urged the Government to acquire watershed tracts in the above-mentioned region. We need the tracts, first of all, for timber. The region comprises our most valuable source of hardwood supply. That supply is rapidly decreasing, nor can we draw adequate supplies from any foreign source. Coincidently, despite the welcome advance in the use of concrete in building, there has been a steady advance in the demand for wood. Because of this double cause there has been an alarming increase in the price of lumber. The increase is as exasperating as it is alarming; for from a quar-

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ter to three-quarters of our forests have been needlessly destroyed by reckless cutting and by fires which should have been checked. These conditions were shown not only at the hearing, but, on the preceding day, at the annual meeting of the American Forestry Association. On each day the principal speaker was appropriately Mr. Gifford Pinchot, the Government Forester, to whom more than to any other man is due our country's progress in timber conservation and use. Mr. Pinchot compared our present consumption of wood to the case of a man in an open boat at sea, cut adrift from some shipwreck and with but a few days' supply of water on board. He drinks all the water the first day, simply because he is thirsty, though he knows that the water will not last long. The American people know that their wood supply will last but a few decades. Yet they shut their eyes to the facts.

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Why Waste Any Natural Resources?

In disregarding an impending timber famine, justly declared Mr. Pinchot, Americans are like those who assume that three meals are always coming to them, whether they provide them or not. Mr. McFarland, President of the American Civic Association, then drew attention to the fact that we are exhausting our supply three times as fast as it is being provided, and likened our condition to that of a man who had a balance of a hundred dollars in a bank and deliberately drew on it for three hundred dollars. Our condition is doubly disastrous. Not only does the forest supply timber; it also stores water. Under the trees lies a mass of vegetable mold and leaves. In it water is retained longer than in the open. Again, in the winter the ground under the trees freezes less quickly. At any time this water, whether from rain or snow, percolates slowly into the soil. If such reservoirs are useful in flat lands, how much more are they on the steep mountain slopes, which, unfit for agriculture, are inversely valuable when one considers water-flow conservation. Such conservation is necessary. If there be none, through forest-cover absence or destruction, freshets cause erosion of the soil. Every year the Mississippi River carries as much soil to the sea as we are removing from the Isthmus to build the Panama Canal. As Mr. Pinchot showed, the loss of all this arable land is a terrible tax on every farmer whose land borders our streams and rivers. But forest destruction involves more than the loss of timber and soil. The loss in the equability of water-flow diminishes by at least two-thirds the available supply for ordinary water-power and also for electric power. Forest destruction also checks, first, the supply for our inland waterways, and then, by filling them up with soil and silt, impedes the navigability of our lower rivers and harbors. This year's meeting of the Forestry Association was distinguished from others because for the first time it was seen that the example of the Forest Service has led men to consider the conservation of other natural resources. What are some of them? Fuel, iron, land, forage plants, water transportation. Our fuel supply consists of wood, coal, oil, and gas. We have squandered and exploited each of these resources. We have similarly exploited our iron supply. By over-grazing we have destroyed the value of forage plants by half. The history of our land laws shows how much has gone to the home-maker and how much to the "promoter." In water transportation we now see that a simple system of canalization might have prevented our freight-car famine. It is no wonder, then, that the Forest Service's work stimulated President Roosevelt to propose similar methods in conserving other natural resources. A Waterways Commission was appointed, and the President has called the Governors of all the States to meet him in Washington, to consider the whole subject of our natural resources. This meeting may prove to be the most important event of the present Administration.

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Government by Commissions

Municipal government in the United States may be wanting in honesty and regularity, but it certainly does not lack variety. It is Boston that supplies the

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latest example of municipal originality. The story is dramatic. Although already referred to in The Outlook in connection with the report of the municipal election in December, it was not then so obviously significant as it has since become. Last July, barely more than six months ago, John F. Fitzgerald, Democratic Mayor of Boston, appointed seven men to constitute a Finance Commission. They were to inquire into the finances of the city, and were given authority to summon witnesses, enforce their attendance, order the production of books, and administer oaths. The appointment of these men by Mayor Fitzgerald seemed like a shrewd step to lend business dignity to his administration. It was generally expected that the Commission would assemble at intervals and consider large and perhaps vague issues. It moreover seemed as if little could be accomplished; the new mayoralty election was then hardly more than four months away. On leaving the Mayor's office, July 30, the new Commissioners walked in a body to the office of one of their members and did not waste a moment in getting at work on the endless details of mismanagement concealed from the public, which had only a general suspicion of graft. The Commission began its work at the very zenith of the Mayor's power—on the eve of Old Home Week, a celebration focusing on him. In honor of the event the city was gay with bunting, and eminent citizens had joined the Mayor to make the occasion a success. On the opening day the Mayor and Vice-President Fairbanks, standing side by side in an open carriage, hats in hand, bowed their acknowledgments to endless lines of applauding spectators on Tremont Street. Mr. Fitzgerald did not even turn his head toward an office above in the Tremont Building, where the new Commissioners were applying themselves to their duties. Day and night they worked. Results soon appeared. In September the city was startled to learn, through sensational public hearings, that it was losing $100,000 a year through false bills of lading and other crookedness in its purchases of coal. In October it was shown that in the quantity as well as the quality of the coal delivered it was being cheated. Newspaper readers followed eagerly these disclosures, which were succeeded by others presenting the base and brazen manner in which the city was being swindled in contracts. The participation of City Hall was unmistakable. Meanwhile to the baseness was added folly. The year's loan bill, dissected with unerring insight and presented with the force of truth, made manifest the enormity of the city's debt. The farcical incompetence of the department of weights and measures, the irony of borrowing money to enlarge a public cemetery on land situated on a fashionable boulevard directly over the city's water supply, the extravagance of the collector's department, were, one after another, laid before the public through official communications.

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From Publicity to Power

No politician ever seemed more secure in office than Mayor Fitzgerald, of Boston, in July of last year. His party was twice as large as that of his opponents, and was so united that, later, at the primaries no candidate appeared against him. All the patronage of the city and an army of city employees were on his side. His own race, naturally clannish, was dominant in the city, and had a deep sense that lack of "regularity," that is, of loyalty to the Democratic party, was unpardonable. In the whole city there was no leader to take up the fight against him. The Republican party was disorganized, hopeless, unable to agree with the Good Government Association in selecting a candidate. On December 10 Mayor Fitzgerald was defeated for re-election, through a great public uprising against him. In the bitterness of his defeat he promptly charged the Finance Commission with being responsible for it. There has been no dissenting voice. In reality the truth had beaten him. The Finance Commission had only revealed it. The Commission which has accomplished these results and is now devoting itself to constructive work consists of four lawyers, two business men, and a representative of organized labor. As a body they are not rich men, and the

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giving of time to this work is no easier for them than it would be for thousands of their fellow-citizens. They were not novices when they began. They included an ex-Mayor, an ex-Congressman, an ex-Treasurer of the city, and two excellent ex-members of the Boston School Committee. All knew well the pitfalls into which reformers have had the misfortune of tumbling for a generation and more. With their energy they thus combined the skill born of experience. The Commission had no power except that of publicity. But, while it depended on the confidence of the public, it got into no altercations with those politicians who sought to defame it. As disclosure after disclosure was made, the Mayor now tried to retaliate, again struggled to take credit to himself as the author of this uncompromising engine for divulging facts, again attempted to ignore it. The Commission took no notice of his different attitudes, but proceeded so steadily to new disclosures that, while he was seeking some pose which would relieve him from the disgrace of one exposure, another was already before the public. In addition to his defeat, the revelations of the Commission have led to eleven indictments, mostly of city officials and contractors. In his inaugural, January 2, 1908, the Governor of the State recommended that an act be passed by the new Legislature conferring on the Commission for the current year the power of making appropriations and reorganizing the various departments, subject to the veto of the Mayor. Whatever the ultimate effect on self-government, the people of Boston are convinced that the Commission can produce monumental reforms. While the depravity of our city governments has been deplored as a grim factor impossible to rectify, suddenly in a large city it has been found that it is necessary only to pull off the mask that hides the real features of the grafting officials and "the game's up."

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A Convention on Industrial Education

The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education was organized at a gathering in New York City November 16, 1906. The first annual Convention of the Society was held recently in Chicago. The sessions opened with a dinner at the Auditorium Hotel January 23, at which the speakers were President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, Mr. James W. Van Cleave, of St. Louis, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, and Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The aims of the Society, as stated by Dr. Pritchett, its President, are: (1) To examine and report upon conditions in respect to industrial training in this country, and to compare them with those prevailing abroad; (2) to recommend types of model trade schools adapted to the needs of particular communities; (3) to propose methods by which these trade schools may be articulated with the existing system of public education. Among the startling statements at the Convention was one to the effect that fifty-five per cent of the boys in Berlin between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are in industrial schools, while in Chicago less than one-tenth of one per cent are being so trained. "Germany," it was said, "trains its youth for a vocation; the United States trains its youth for a job." Bavaria, with a population not much greater than that of New York City, has two hundred and ninety trade schools, giving instruction night and day in twenty-eight trades and crafts. This is a larger number of trade schools than is to be found throughout the whole United States. President Eliot quoted the figures collected by the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, showing that twenty-five thousand children in that Commonwealth were engaged in trifling occupations that fail to promote skill or advancement, or to prepare for more useful manhood. Three elements in the community are operating from different directions to bring about the introduction of industrial training: the manufacturer, who sees commercial supremacy passing from America into the hands of technically trained nations; the educator, who has begun to realize the inherent defects of an exclusively bookish school; and the workers themselves, who are demanding an education suited to their economic

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needs, but so safeguarded as not to menace the advantages gained through organization. These three elements were represented in varying proportions in the attendance and in the addresses of the Convention. Mr. Milton P. Higgins, a Worcester manufacturer, criticised prevailing trade schools as being "schools with a shop attached," whereas they should be the reverse. Instead of being conducted by educators and dominated by educational ideals, they should, he contended, be managed by manufacturers, and the teachers should be practical mechanics, giving instruction in the trade as it must be practiced outside of the school. A workshop with a school attached was described by Mr. J. F. Deems, superintendent of motive power of the New York Central Railroad. He said:

The New York Central management first organized their apprentice education system on March 1, 1906, and now have it in operation in all of their ten shops. They have tried to improve on the old European system of apprenticeship by combining modern educational features and a living salary. They believe that they have the solution of the great problem that all industries are now facing. Every boy that is hired by the shop foreman is put on probation for six months in order to give him an opportunity to decide what branch of railroad work he wants to follow and to let the company decide whether he is equipped for it at all. In every shop there is a "shop instructor" hired at a good salary to devote his entire time to the instruction of these boys. He must be an up-to-date machinist himself, with a sufficient knowledge of the other trades. For our apprentices these men have proved ideal instructors, for they are the men who can work out the problems from the standpoint of the apprentice without indulging in theories that the boy cannot understand.

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, reflected the point of view of the educators. She said:

We must take care, in our rush for industrial education, that the manufacturer does not capture the public schools. That is a real danger. Years ago we let the business man capture the schools. His administration resulted in the placing of enormous emphasis upon bookkeeping, accounts, and other things which would have converted the children into a great army of clerks. This was a perfectly natural mistake for the business man to make. He had been a clerk himself and had grown up through the counting-room. What was more natural than for him to look at education from that point of view? What was good for him must be good for all children. And so with the manufacturer. If we discard the idea that there is any cultural value to be had in industrial training, the community will have a just right to complain of the narrow view we took of the trust reposed in us. We must approach this problem from the point of view of the whole community. I don't agree with the theory that industrial education is one thing and cultural education another. I know that industry, especially in Chicago, looks big and ugly. I know that superficially it seems the farthest possible remove from culture. Nevertheless, it is big with significance in its past, its present, and its future, and that significance has immense value for culture.

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Unions and Trade Schools

It is undeniable that some manufacturers hope the trade schools may help to free them from what they term the domination of the unions, and that some trade-unionists, in consequence, are disposed to view with suspicion the movement to introduce better methods of trade instruction in place of the old apprentice system. There was some outcropping of this feeling at the Convention. The make-up of the Illinois Committee was unfortunate in that it contained the name of no trade-unionist from Chicago and only one from the State at large, while the opponents of trade-unionism were well represented on that committee. Although several were invited, not a single labor man appeared at the dinner, at which Mr. Van Cleave, President of the Manufacturers' Association, was a prominent figure. The dinner addresses of Mr. Van Cleave and President Eliot both contained remarks that were interpreted as criticisms of the unions. This situation led Professor Graham Taylor, of the Chicago Commons, to declare, at the second day's session, that it would be folly to attempt to carry out such a movement without the co-operation of those whose interests are most involved—the organized workingmen. The resolutions adopted declare "that as the purpose for which this society exists is the promotion of industrial education, and not the discussion of any of the more general economic or social questions into which it is so easy to be drawn, it is the sense of its members that its work should be conducted with strict reference to this educational purpose." At sessions fol-

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lowing the dinner, trade union speakers appeared on the programme. Among them was Mr. Luke Grant, a member of the Carpenters' Union, and labor editor of the Chicago Record-Herald, who gave a discriminating presentation of the attitude of trade-unionists toward the industrial education movement. He said: "The attitude of the wage-earner toward industrial education at the present time is not clearly defined. He is not indifferent to the importance of the subject. Neither is he antagonistic. He is simply cautious. He wants to know what direction this movement takes, and how it may affect his material interests, before he comes out in unqualified approval or disapproval of it. . . . If he is an organized worker, as a large proportion of skilled mechanics are, he has found that employers many times during labor disputes have used trade schools as recruiting stations for strike-breakers. This may appear to some a narrow view to take, but, whether or not, it is a fact, and it has not increased the wage-earner's trust in trade schools as institutions which he should help foster. This suspicion and distrust of the trade school, however, does not represent the real attitude of the wage-earner toward industrial education, or even toward trade schools. There are good and bad trade schools, and I believe the wage-earner appreciates that as readily as the employer. If you can establish trade schools devoted to the proper training of the youth, schools that will increase his industrial efficiency, schools that will help the brain to work in conjunction with the hand, schools conducted by the state that will aid the boy in the future battle of life instead of exploiting him for private profit, then I believe you will find the wage-earner among the first to bid you God-speed." The new President of the Society is Dr. Carroll D. Wright.

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Foreign Exchange in Professors

During recent years influential American educators have been showing their appreciation of the duty of our universities to maintain international relations. This duty, as applied to France, has been already represented by the lectures of Professor Wendell, Mr. Beach, and others at Paris and Lille, and by the lectures of eminent Frenchmen at Harvard. Applied to Germany it has also been represented by an admirable interchange of professors. As The Outlook has recommended, a similar interchange should exist between North and South America. Not the least effect of the Pan-American Congress at Rio in 1906 and of Secretary Root's journey to most of the countries of the southern half of the North American continent was in the interest aroused here concerning South American education and society as well as its commerce and politics. We do not realize that Latin America already boasts of universities whose teaching force is worthy of wider recognition than it has received. The clear, cogent, and eloquent addresses at the Hague Conference last summer by South American delegates were proofs of the quality of their education. If North America were to send a foremost authority to lecture at South American universities, he would receive a welcome as hearty as that which greeted Elihu Root himself. For the welcome to Mr. Root was not alone given because he was Secretary of State, but because he stood at the head of the bar of the American metropolis, a representative of acute intellectual force and comprehensive vision. No man of similar distinction from the North had ever officially visited South America. If his equal in the educational world were to go thither, his would be certainly an equal resultant influence. We need also to appreciate the Latin point of view, as it would be outlined in law and politics, for instance, by Senhor Barbosa for Portuguese and by Señor Drago for Spanish South America. With such an interchange we might come to a conviction which Germany reached long ago independently of such a spur. We need not inquire whether immediate commercial or ultimate political ambitions were behind Germany's action. What we must recognize as a fact is that because Germany sent her schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to help reorganize South American schools her intellectual influence is growing rapidly in that part of the world.

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German ideas, German culture, even the German point of view, now dominate the training in some of the most important sections of the South American continent. This statement has just been reaffirmed by Dr. L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, in addressing the Association of American Universities. Dr. Rowe's recent journey throughout the southern half of our continent, and the cordiality and hospitality everywhere shown to him, indicate that he or equally good representatives of our universities should be sent every year to South America, not only in the aim to influence our commercial and political relations through education, but to bring about, as only an educational interchange can, the solidarity of society. As Dr. Rowe says, a hold on the South American republics is established not merely by commercial conquest, but by means of the more fundamental intellectual and moral forces which develop community of thought and, ultimately, community of action.

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The British Parliament

The opening of the British Parliament last week was marked by both ancient rites and modern incidents. The great stage-coach, regilded, bore the King and Queen to the Houses of Parliament through crowded streets, a witness to the presence of ancient England in the life of the twentieth century; while the next morning a band of ardent suffragettes, devoted to their cause but somewhat lacking in the sense of humor, made an attack on the Government by pulling the door-bells of several members of the Cabinet, vigorously and continuously, until they were reluctantly dragged away by the police. That was the modern incident. This is a new form of political agitation, and, if kept up with energy, will not be without its effect. A Government persistently deprived of sleep must sooner or later yield. The King's speech was colorless, but not without significance. It emphasized the beneficent possibilities of the cordial understanding between Great Britain and Russia, pointing out that, in consequence of this understanding, it has been possible to maintain tranquillity in Persia and to agree upon certain demands to be made on the Porte looking to the removal of causes of disturbance in Macedonia; and it declared that every effort will be made to give practical effect to the action of the Hague Conference in establishing an international Peace Court. Among the measures which the Government proposes to advocate during the session are bills for facilitating the acquisition of land by the Scotch peasantry, an amendment to the law on elementary education, a bill regulating the hours in coal mines, a project for the extension of university education in Ireland, and an amendment to the Irish Land Purchase Act which will provide for the compulsory taking of untenanted land now used for grazing purposes. The silences of the speech were as significant as its utterances. The King said nothing about the very delicate situation created in South Africa by the action of the Transvaal Government. A passionate protest had been made at a large meeting in Bombay; but the situation has been fortunately relieved somewhat by removing the chief cause of offense. The grievance of the Hindus in South Africa was not against registration, but against the form of it. The Government insisted on taking finger-prints as a further means of identification. In India this requirement is imposed only on criminals, and the Hindus in South Africa protested against what they regarded as a personal indignity. It has happened many times that the most serious consequences have been brought about by disregarding race or personal feeling and sentiment. It is also reassuring to know that the Hindus who have been imprisoned for refusing to comply with the provisions of the registration act are to be released.

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German Policies

An English provincial newspaper has recently printed an interview between the Emperor William and a prominent European diplomatist, with the assertion that the article was submitted through the German Ambassador in England to the Emperor himself, and that its publication

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was authorized. In this report the Emperor traverses, with emphatic denials, practically all the policies of aggrandizement charged to him since he ascended the throne twenty years ago. He declares that he has not the slightest desire to annex the Russian Baltic provinces. Although the Germans were formerly predominant in these provinces, Russification has gone on so far that a German army would not be welcomed; and any extension of the German territory in that direction would convert Russia into a permanent enemy and weaken the strategical position of Germany. Since the seizure of the Schleswig-Holstein provinces from Denmark, against which Ibsen protested so loudly as a violation of Scandinavian unity, there has been a good deal of fear in the Northern states, and especially in Denmark, of the advance of Germany in that direction. According to this report, the Emperor declares that the Scandinavians, while of much potential vigor, are poor and have a love of independence and a tenacity of character which would make it very difficult to assimilate them with the German Empire. For the same reason, Holland, where the ambition of Germany has been greatly feared as a very present danger, would not harmoniously combine with Germany. Belgium would present even greater difficulty on account of the large number of French-speaking people which it contains. Switzerland serves Germany better as a buffer state than if she were a member of the Empire. Nothing is said in the interview about the Austrian German-speaking provinces; this may have been an oversight, or it may be very significant. The Emperor further declared that the newspaper quarrels between Germany and Great Britain were ended; that Germany has no desire to take anything which belongs to England; that their greater interests do not antagonize them, and that they ought to stand together; and he is reported to have spoken with special emphasis regarding the folly of any German statesman who would go to war with England over a colonial question. The steady increase of the German navy, upon which the Emperor has set his heart, was interpreted in the same interview as necessitated by the development of Germany on account of her dependence on food supplies from abroad, and upon an extension of markets for her merchandise. These markets are to be sought for the most part among half-civilized nations; and the ability to make a great impression of power is essential. It is to be hoped that this interview was authorized. It will surprise those alarmists who have been steadily prophesying that the German Emperor was bent upon mischief. As a matter of fact, the record of twenty years of rule justified every statement reported to have been made in this interview.

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"Ouida" Years ago the author of "Under Two Flags" was one of the widely read novelists of her time; last week she died in Italy, and, if reports are to be trusted, she died in straitened circumstances owing to her own improvidence. Her work had a certain glamour and brilliancy, but, with the exception of the stories for children, it lacked sincerity, substance, and taste. Her style was almost always bad, and the morals of her stories worse. When she tried to give it a touch of elegance or of poetry, she made it meretricious or tawdry. Mrs. Oliphant credited her with the power of word-painting, but added, "It is a dangerous gift, and has led, in many cases, to a riot of highly colored words." There always have been, and until the taste of the world is much better educated there always will be, readers who delight in high-flown sentences, and who are unable to distinguish between "highfalutin" and eloquence. Senator Conkling is reported to have regarded the address familiar to school-boys, beginning, "White man, there is eternal war between thee and me," as the finest piece of oratorical writing in the English language. Much worse books than "Ouida's," both in point of style and morals, are now read and talked about by people who consider themselves decent; for, whatever her faults, "Ouida" was a natural story-teller. It ought to be remembered of her that she had a great fondness for dogs, and that she wrote some charming stories for children.

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"The Dog of Flanders" and the "Nürnberg Stove" have a delightful quality, and "Ouida" will be fortunate if the tawdry rhetoric and cheap morals of her earlier stories are forgotten, and the sincerity and charm of her work for children and her fondness for animals are remembered.

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Bill-Boards Again

Public and judicial sentiment, at home and abroad, is crystallizing against the bill-board nuisance. Mr. Justice Joyce, of the English High Court of Justice, has just rendered an important judgment in regard to bill-boards, which no doubt will have a far-reaching effect both in England and in this country. A suit had been brought by the owner of certain premises alleging that the tenant had converted the flank wall of the house, which faced the churchyard and one of the principal doors of the adjoining Church of St. Andrews, into a bill-posting station. It was not denied that the wall had been let for this purpose, and the question was whether this was a breach of the covenants of the lease, which required, among other things, that the premises should be kept in good repair and condition. It was disputed that what had been done was injurious to the wall. Moreover, the Justice was of the opinion that there had likewise been a breach of the covenant not to alter the external appearance of the house. As to the question of annoyance, the Justice thought that, without being too sensitive, the vicar of the adjoining church, who was the lessor, and his congregation might well be seriously annoyed by what had been done. He also thought that the covenant not to carry on any other business on the premises than that of tailoring had been broken. The Justice therefore held that there had been breaches of the lease, and issued an injunction restraining the tenant from permitting the use of the wall in question as a bill-posting concern, and he was required to remove the bills and restore the wall to its previous condition. But a Los Angeles Judge has struck a dissenting note in passing on a local ordinance, holding that the legal regulation of bill-boards must be limited to their effect on public health, safety, or morals; and that the provisions of the ordinance requiring all bill-boards to be of non-combustible material are unreasonable, on the ground that it would be as unreasonable to regulate the style of the dress of citizens, or the character of the vehicles in which they ride, as far as constitutional rights are concerned, as it would be to limit the size of boards on private property—an opinion very different in scope and effect and in its broad consideration of public welfare from that of Judge Welch, of the neighboring Santa Clara Court, in which, it will be remembered by our readers, he maintained that a bill-board could be just as offensive to the eye, and therefore a nuisance, as an offensive odor was one to the nose, and could be abated. Among the provisions of the Los Angeles ordinance declared illegal by the court was one limiting the height of bill-boards to eight feet and their length to ten feet, and also one that required that all boards not attached to buildings should be placed at least twenty feet from the street line. Evidently the Los Angeles Justice has unusual notions as to reasonableness. Nevertheless, even he, with his strict notions of the private right to do publicly offensive things, upheld so much of the ordinance as provides for a license fee, and the bill-posters have announced their intention to abide by its condition. The grounds for the criticisms made upon this decision may be gathered from the fact that in the test suit both the original and the amended ordinances were filed with the briefs and the Judge based his decision on the former, overlooking the fact that the section requiring notice to be given to adjacent property owners when applications to erect bill-boards were to be submitted to the police commission had been eliminated in the later ordinance. In Tacoma, Washington, however, the North End Improvement Club seems to have won its long fight against the bill-board. It will be recalled that this organization persistently applied the principle of the boycott for the correction of the evil. Advertisers who declined to take the hint that such adver-

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tising was objectionable to the people of the section came under the ban of the society's displeasure, and that meant that three hundred members would formally decline to use goods so advertised. The local bill-posting company has capitulated, and, determined to end the war, is ready to meet the terms of the Club, which stipulate that no bill-boards shall be erected north of Division Avenue and that such boards as now stand in that territory shall be torn down. The bill-posting company was forced to its position by the attitude of the large advertisers who gave instructions not to put up any more of their signs. In the words of the Secretary of the Club, "This will mean that the boards in the North End, the 'plaster boards,' the boards around Wright Park, and the boards in some territory adjacent to us, a territory some four or five times as large as we started out to clear, will all be withdrawn. It shows how effective our method has been, and is a full, complete, and satisfactory victory for the Club. It shows that the people have it in their power to do away with boards if they wish to. At times the result seemed uncertain, but in looking back over the fight now the results seem wonderfully satisfactory."

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An Imposition on Women

The New York morning dailies announce that the Constitutional Convention's Committee on Elections at Lansing, Michigan, have unanimously reported a proposition granting woman suffrage, with a recommendation that it be passed. The Convention, before passing this proposition, would do well to take some measures to ascertain whether the women of Michigan wish to vote. Such light as has hitherto been obtainable on this subject indicates that an overwhelming majority of the women of the United States are either indifferent to the suffrage or positively unwilling to assume the responsibilities which it involves. Political privilege is political duty. Legislation which confers on women the authority to vote imposes on them the obligation to do so. They have hitherto been exempt from political duties as they have been exempt from militia, police, and jury duty. If they do not wish to assume the responsibilities involved in the suffrage, it is both a hazardous experiment and an act of doubtful justice to impose those duties upon them; and it would seem to be a very easy matter for the Michigan Constitutional Convention to do as was done in Massachusetts, ask the women of the State to say, in a general election open to them, whether they wish the ballot or not, before imposing on them a duty which they appear to be reluctant to undertake.

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The President's Message

The special Message addressed to Congress last week by the President recommends no new policy and states no new political principle, unless his tentative recommendation of some Congressional action regarding stock-market gambling be so considered. Its occasion was the desire of Mr. Roosevelt to recommend the immediate passage of an Employers' Liability Law which should meet the constitutional objections of the Supreme Court to the act previously framed by Congress. The President restates the arguments which he has already made in favor of employers' liability, and urges that the benefits of the law be extended to Government workmen; he re-utters his belief in the proper use of the process of injunction, but asserts that it is often abused, especially in labor cases, and specifically urges that "reasonable notice should be given the adverse party;" he advises again that the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission should be enlarged and extended, particularly suggesting that the Commission should have the right to pass upon questions of "rate or practice on its own initiative;" he again urges Federal control in some measure over the physical operation of railways; he expresses again his belief in railway mergers and traffic associations under the supervision of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and recommends an amendment or modification of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to this end.

These constitute the only topics of

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the Message dealing with legislation. The main portion of the paper is devoted by the President to a résumé of the work of his administration in its relation to property and wealth—a résumé which reveals what we believe to be the elemental and dominating motive and spirit of President Roosevelt. In our judgment, the Message is one of the most inspiring and morally effective of all Mr. Roosevelt's utterances on public questions. It has certain characteristic qualities of style which we could have wished modified. In giving vent to his righteous indignation against private and public acts of greed, injustice, and skillfully planned lawbreaking he uses adjectives which are more characteristic of Thomas Carlyle than Ralph Waldo Emerson. But it is unreasonable to ask the President to change the color of his English style, and the few phrases here and there scattered through the Message which some of his friends as well as his critics deprecate are mere incidents of the Message, and do not at all interfere with its deep sobriety of spirit and purpose.

The President believes that the country, both politically and financially, rests upon a sound and solid foundation. "There is no nation so absolutely sure of ultimate success as ours." The great body of our citizens recognize the true principles of justice, honesty, and philanthropy, and wish to practice those principles. But there are in every community, unhappily, men who do not scruple to employ the great powers of mind and material wealth at their command to gain additional wealth and additional power at the expense of the lives and property of their neighbors. These wrongs exist, and every intelligent citizen knows that they exist, and yet "no misdeeds done in the present must be permitted to shroud from our eyes the glorious future of the nation; but because of this very fact it behooves us never to swerve from our resolute purpose to cut out wrongdoing and uphold what is right." The President reasserts his belief, in which we concur, that the present business depression in this country was not produced by the policy of the Government in exposing corruption and pursuing the corrupt, but comes as the direct and inevitable fruit of the corrupt and lawless practices to which the Nation through the Administration is endeavoring to put an end. The President adds, however, with characteristic courage: "But if it were true that to cut out rottenness from the body politic meant a momentary check to an unhealthy seeming prosperity, I should not for one moment hesitate to put the knife into the corruption." In conclusion, the President beseeches us to make the spirit of the patriot-soldier fighting for the honor of his country and the freedom of his fellow-men "our spirit as we strive to bring nearer the day when greed and trickery and cunning shall be trampled under foot by those who fight for the righteousness that exalteth a nation."

This, we take it, discloses the secret of the real power of Theodore Roosevelt—his profound belief in common, practical, every-day righteousness, and his determination, often pursued with gritted teeth, to do all in his power to help the Nation to establish common, simple, every-day righteousness in the administration of private business and public office.

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Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes

There are before the country two National Presidential candidates for the Republican nomination—Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes. There are other candidates, "favorite sons:" perhaps more than favorite sons, for it is claimed that Mr. Cannon has the support of a majority of the House of Representatives, Mr. La Follette of the Western radicals, Mr. Knox of the Eastern conservatives, and it is reported that Mr. Cortelyou is being held in reserve by his supporters as a dark horse. There are also Mr. Fairbanks and Mr. Foraker, with what support we do not hear. But the popular interest and enthusiasm is at present divided between Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes.

Mr. Taft has the advantage—or dis-

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advantage, as the reader may choose to regard it—of being, by reason of his position and past career, the natural representative of the present Administration, and the almost necessary heir to the enthusiasm, both of appreciation and of criticism, which it has excited. His public views are known by his public acts; and though his speeches have been frank, his actions have often spoken louder than words. Ever since his appointment as Civil Governor of the Philippines by President McKinley in 1901, he has been an active member of the Administration. He is therefore justly held responsible for its policies, and justly shares the credit—or discredit—which is given to them. As Governor of the Philippines he pacified the islands, organized a civil government, and successfully transferred the archipelago from a purely military rule to a *quasi* self-government. He conducted the negotiations with the Roman Catholic Church and solved the complicated friar problem with results apparently equally satisfactory to the friars, the Church, and the people. Transferred to the War Department, he still maintained his interest in his wards and continued his care of them, while extending his activities into new fields. Under his administration the controversies arising out of the attempt to employ private competing contractors at Panama were solved by the simple expedient of putting the work under the immediate direction of army engineers. His visit to Cuba quelled an incipient revolution, and has left the island in at least temporary peace and the enjoyment of a before unknown prosperity. Rumors of war with Japan, which were disquieting the Nation, ceased almost immediately after his visit to Japan, and presently came the report that the Japanese Government was taking action to check the migration of Japanese coolies to our shores. Rumors of an impending revolution in the Philippines following upon the election of a radical Assembly came from well-informed correspondents in the islands. His visit was made the occasion of a remarkable ovation, and was followed by conservative and quieting action by the Assembly—the appropriation of a million dollars to public education and the appointment of diplomatic natives to represent Philippine interests in America. One of the chief legal advisers of the President, he is known to have approved both the constitutionality and the wisdom of the law giving the Inter-State Commerce Commission authority to regulate railway rates, but is also believed to have counseled providing in the law for an appeal from its decisions to the courts. Threatened with the opposition of organized labor because of injunction orders issued when he was on the bench, he has replied with a condemnation of violence as vigorous as any ever uttered by his chief, and has affirmed, on the one hand, that the power to issue injunctions should be maintained, and, on the other, that certain specified limitations should be put upon that power, the better to safeguard the rights of citizens from the possible despotic exercise of judicial authority. It may safely be assumed that he favors the maintenance of a moderate army and an efficient and capable navy, since he has uttered no protest against either, and that he favors the preservation of our forest and mining lands and the improvement of our waterways for the public benefit. He has declared himself to be in favor of a protective tariff, but also in favor of a substantial modification of the schedules. In short, by his public addresses, but still more by his public acts, he is committed abroad to the continued government of our dependencies by the Federal authority until self-government can be organized on a basis of public education, and at home to that development of the spirit of Nationalism and that increased application to new conditions of the Constitutional powers of the Federal Government to which The Outlook has ventured to give the name of the New Federalism. No evidence has been offered in support of the oft-repeated charge that Mr. Roosevelt is using the Federal patronage to secure Mr. Taft's nomination, though there is no doubt that he desires it. No one who knows Mr. Taft will credit the oft-repeated charge that he is an echo of Mr. Roosevelt, though the two are warm personal friends. In their general views

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of the fundamental principles to be applied in interpreting the Constitution and of the tendency in which the National life should be directed at this time in the Nation's history they are agreed, though how far Mr. Taft is indebted to Mr. Roosevelt and how far Mr. Roosevelt is indebted to Mr. Taft for these views they themselves could not tell.

Mr. Hughes is less widely known. He has been in political life only a year and a half. Brought into public notice by the distinguished ability with which he prosecuted insurance frauds in New York State, forced upon the Republican Convention by a popular demand in spite of the ill-concealed opposition of party bosses, elected by the aid of Independent and Democratic votes, hampered in his administration by the lack of cordial co-operation from associates in the administration who were elected on the Democratic ticket and by the opposition of party Republican leaders in the legislative body, his administration of his office has won for him the enthusiastic admiration of all independent citizens regardless of party. The spirit and methods of his administration are portrayed on another page by a member of the Outlook staff. His views on National questions were given in an address to the Republican Club of New York City last Friday evening—an address which indicates a clear rather than an original thinker, a brave but not pugnacious spirit, a man conservative in his methods but radical in his ideals, a politician loyal to his party principles but independent of the party whips.

This address was one of definitions, not of discussion. In it Mr. Hughes explicitly accepts the Roosevelt policies in so far as they have been accepted by the Republican party—and no farther. He applauds the personality of Mr. Roosevelt and his vigorous opposition to special privilege; demands the elimination of all evils which threaten equality of opportunity; condemns Socialism, but calls for the firm and adequate exercise of government restrictions and regulations to protect the people's liberties; indorses the laws prohibiting corporation contributions to campaign funds and requiring publicity of campaign expenses; urges caution in granting franchises which are "justified only by considerations of public welfare;" insists that "the Constitution in its entirety must be preserved," but leaves us in doubt whether he is a liberal or a strict constructionist; emphasizes the importance of conserving our National resources, specifically mentioning forestry, inland waterways, and irrigation; disbelieves in government ownership of railways, but approves railway rate regulation by a Commission charged with all the power necessary for that purpose; advises improvement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and permission of pooling agreements subject to the Commission's approval first obtained; believes in a protective tariff and also in a revision of the schedules by an expert Commission; in the employers' liability law modified to meet the constitutional objections of the United States Supreme Court to the present measure; in the present Philippine policy, and in an efficient army and navy. The only point in which he dissents from the President's policy is expressed in the following two sentences: "I am not in favor of punishment in the shape of fines upon corporations except for minor offenses. The burden of fines imposed upon such corporations is either transferred to the public or is borne by stockholders, the innocent as well as the guilty." On this point, as our readers know, The Outlook agrees with the President. The stockholders elect the directors, and are properly held responsible in damages for the directors' misconduct.

The defenders of special privilege find little to encourage them in this address, and may be expected to look elsewhere for their candidate. Comparing the two men, it may be said that both Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes have extraordinary ability to get business done, both are men of the highest personal character, both have proved the singleness of their devotion to the public welfare, both could be depended on to maintain against all opposition, however dexterous, those standards of efficiency and honesty in the public service which Mr. Roosevelt has done so much to raise, and both are trained lawyers of eminent ability. Possibly Mr. Taft may have more of

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the judicial, Mr. Hughes more of the aggressive, temperament. Mr. Taft has a wider geographical knowledge of the different sections of the country, a wider personal acquaintance with National leaders, and a wider experience in National and international affairs. But either could be depended upon to carry forward the policy of the previous Republican administrations of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt toward the progressive development and the complete protection of popular rights by the formulation of new law when necessary, and the firm and just enforcement of all law against every form of special privilege.

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Simplicity of Life

Those who read the daily newspapers, monthly magazines, and current books detached from the older literature, the earlier histories, and the records in other forms of the past, must feel that this is the worst of all possible times, and that the whole world is rapidly going to the bad. As a matter of fact, looking at the situation in the perspective of history, and taking all sides of life into consideration, there probably never was a more humane, generous, and open-hearted period than the present. The age does not fundamentally differ, except in the scale on which things are done, from the ages which preceded it, and where it differs it generally registers an advance. One radical difference between this period and earlier periods is in the extension and thoroughness of our knowledge of social conditions. We know the world with a minuteness and accuracy of which our forefathers did not dream. We know our own country almost as familiarly as they used to know their towns. We know social conditions almost as well as they knew family conditions. The result is that we are confronted by a host of problems which are neither new nor more numerous than the problems of earlier times, but which, in their extent and fundamental character, are brought into clear light for the first time.

One of the prime difficulties of modern life is its complexity. In this respect it stands in striking contrast to many preceding ages. But complexity of condition is a very different matter from complexity of mind. It is a great mistake to imagine that the two are synonymous; that simple conditions necessarily create the simple life, and that complex conditions create complex habits of life. As a matter of fact, the simple life is inward, not outward; it is a matter of the spirit, and only to a limited extent a matter of outward conditions and habits. It can be achieved as easily and it has been lived as nobly in palaces as in the most unpretentious and obscure homes. There has probably never been a more conspicuous example of the simple life than that which was furnished by a Roman Emperor; and any one who has a large knowledge of men knows how often the complex life—that is to say, the life of confusion—is led by people of the greatest obscurity and the smallest means.

No man or woman need live a complex life because the age is complex. Confusion of thought is an inward condition, not the result of outward circumstances. An ignorant man is perplexed and confused, and, if he has imagination, almost overpowered, by the immense number of articles in a single room in a museum; the curator, on the other hand, is perfectly at home in the whole collection because the lines of his knowledge run through the vast space and range the myriad objects in clear and definite order. That they are numbered by the thousand is of no possible consequence when one understands where to place them and what they signify. The New York Medical Journal prints a very interesting article by Dr. Clement A. Penrose, of Baltimore, on a class whom this physician calls the "mind-weary;" people who have lost the faculty of thinking for themselves, or the desire to do so, and are looking about for some ready-made remedy for an inward condition, some outward path as a means of escape from intellectual confusion. "How many thousands of these poor, mind-weary wretches are on the lookout for some simple, plausible, easy solution of the problems of life that will get them out of all its responsibility!" Nothing

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exhausts the mind like confusion; and there are vast numbers of men and women who are suffering to-day from weariness of mind because they lack organizing ideas of life. This is the explanation for the singular prosperity of quacks and spiritual pretenders of all sorts, and for the flourishing of occultism, which always reappears when men lose their grip on clear, definite, and powerful religious convictions. Instead of convents and monasteries, society is full to-day of all kinds of refuges from the weariness of life and from its perplexities and cares; shelters devised sometimes by half-educated, well-meaning enthusiasts, sometimes by persons of unusual clairvoyant or hypnotic gifts, who start honestly and then become humbugs when they discover the financial possibilities of their unusual gift, or by out-and-out deceivers and beguilers who understand how to prey upon the credulous, and who know how easy it is to collect a crowd if one will only stand and look steadfastly into the sky.

The New York Tribune, in commenting on Dr. Penrose's paper, says very truly that many people are struggling vainly to piece together into a rational system the alleged discoveries of psychology and medicine; that they are swamped by a flood of unorganized facts. During the last quarter of a century information of all sorts touching the structure of the universe and the organization of the human spirit has rolled in like a tide; new vistas of knowledge have opened up on all sides; popular reports of every form of religion are at hand; every esoteric philosophy has its manuals; all the arts and sciences are represented on the book-shelves of the libraries in a vast number of easily written volumes; political economy and sociology are studied by children barely out of their infancy under the tuition of well-meaning but half-educated men and women. When one considers the volume of misinformation now distributed through society, and the mass of ill-digested thinking to which the average man and woman are exposed, it is astonishing that there is not more brain-weariness, and that a greater number of people do not fall prey to the delusions of the moment—those easy-going solutions of the problems of life which push aside responsibility and settle all questions out of hand. Many men and many women are bewildered by the number of gates through which they can pass into different fields of knowledge, and try first one path and then another, only to come back to the point of departure and start afresh, with a constantly deepening confusion of thought. They are eager to understand all the sciences, to master the technique of all the arts, to know the ritual of all religions and to worship all the gods; and the result is that they become mere encyclopædias of popular misinformation, but encyclopædias without order, definition, accuracy, illumination.

The remedy for this confusion is a clear recognition that no human being can settle all questions, master all knowledge, or try all experience; that every man must select the things which belong to him and leave the other things alone; that to do anything strongly and competently involves leaving many other things undone; that before each human soul lies one path, and that by keeping to that path salvation is secured. One definite and commanding idea of life, resolutely and patiently worked out and followed, brings one to wisdom and power, while a great number of ideas which touch only the circumference of one's experience bewilder and confuse. He who can be efficient and fruitful if he stays where he belongs, becomes a mere cumberer of the ground when he strays into places where he has no real ties. The question for men and women to-day is not whether they will understand everything and use everything, but what they shall resolutely cut off; it is not a question of taking things on, but of leaving things out. The genius of the simple life lies in accepting a fundamental conception of what one is here for. If one has such a conception, it will impose order on the outward confusion, give one peace in outward turmoil, preserve one from the temptations of a thousand voices calling tumultuously and discordantly from all quarters, and bring that quiet unfolding, that inward growth, which is the business of life.

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The Spectator

The Spectator was tired. He had been to Capodimonte for the day, on legitimate business, and had just come down as far as the Museum in the Neapolitan Tramway rickety little bus. He had seen in a small antique shop around the corner a curiously wrought old ring, that he felt he must have for the good of his soul. The ring might serve, he thought; so he parted with some of his odd lire and turned his feet homewards and dinnerwards, threading his way among the children hucksters in the narrow streets. Delighted as usual with the sights and sounds of Naples, he tried to fix the wholeness of the impression in his memory and remain oblivious to the gentle creeping of the fingers of a little hunchback over his arm.

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No children in the world understand so well as those of Naples the art of begging. The little hunchback was an impostor; deformed, yes; in pain, no. The Spectator had seen him playing gayly with other children, and had seen him, suddenly aware of the presence of an Americano, swiftly assume the pain attitude, head thrown back, chest forward, too poignantly familiar to the Spectator to be ignored. Then had come the insistent, barely perceptible touch and the gentle little voice, "Uno soldo, uno soldo, signor, solamento uno." To rid himself of a sad reminder, he gave the penny and hurried away, when his steps were arrested by the sound of a voice. A dream voice, it seemed to him, for only in dreams had he heard anything like it, certainly not in Naples, where beautiful sounds that he had hoped to hear had been conspicuously absent. Delicate and sweet it rose, a pure, birdlike tone above the raucous street sounds. Sadness and fatigue were forgotten. A glimpse of calm green meadows and gently flowing water swept across his vision. And still the voice sang, full of the spirit of peace and youth and hope. Find it he must. Dinner was forgotten, and the impatient *pension* butler faded into the background in the joy of the quest. It might come from anywhere, from any of the high overhanging windows. He pictured himself forcing an entrance and finding a young girl singing under the direction of a maestro, when a sudden turn where the street widened brought the singer in full view.

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A young fellow stood with a violin at his shoulder, and beside him the singer; and, wonder of wonders! this youthful, birdlike voice was coming from the toothless lips of an old, white-haired woman. There she stood, with all the dignity of conscious power, in her poor old faded calico, hands held loosely together and head thrown slightly back. She stopped; the Spectator held out his hand. "*Bella voce! Bella voce!*" was all that he could say. To the next street she went. He followed. Then, with her beautiful old face turned full upon him, she sang air after air from the fine old operas. This time his hand held all his silver, and his eyes were full of tears, as he asked for one more song. No, she said, she was no longer strong, and her throat was bad, and she had been singing all day—to-morrow night she would come to his hotel and sing again. Gradually her story came out. She had once been a favorite opera singer and had sung at San Carlo, but many misfortunes had come upon her, and she must earn her bread now, singing on the streets.

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At the *pension* that night the Spectator asked about her. Yes, her story was true. She was a well-known figure in the town; her misfortunes might or might not be of her own making, but she could sing still even though her mind was somewhat dulled—and she was not unhappy. All next day he simply waited for the night, and when it came he waited for the singer. Once he heard the voice, away off like a far-away echo, but in the street below all was quiet and the concierge knew nothing of the *vecchia cantatrice*. She did not come, and the Spectator believes she lost her way. The next day he left Naples; but sometime—perhaps he may have to wait till he gets to heaven—he will hear that voice again.

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HUGHES. GOVERNOR

BY HAROLD J. HOWLAND

THE Governor of New York, with a committee of the Legislature, was making a tour of inspection of the charitable institutions and insane hospitals of the State. In a corridor of an asylum the party was suddenly confronted by one of the inmates. Clicking his heels together and bringing his hand smartly to his forehead in salute, he said:

"Governor, I'm a Republican. I don't know whether you are or not."

The Governor smiled, and the Senator just behind him chuckled, "Nobody else does either."

Now, the inmate was a lunatic and the Senator was joking. But there are other Senators and some party leaders who are neither lunatics nor, in this connection, jokers, who repeat the statement with no feeling of humor, but with a decided inclination to answer the implied query in the negative. Many of them have had the experience of the veteran politician who said, "The Governor has made some of us old fellows, who believe a good Republican is better than any Mugwump, sit up." Probably there are others, perhaps many others, not politicians nor party workers, who do not count Governor Hughes a "good" Republican, nor his administration a true exemplification of the principles of party government.

But this belief Mr. Hughes himself does not share. In his speech accepting the Republican nomination for Governor he assumed the duty laid upon him "as a lifelong Republican, as one loyal to the principles and best traditions of the party." Again and again he has declared his belief in party organization, party activity, party loyalty. With these declarations not the most zealous partisan can quarrel; but with his definition of the "good" Republican, of true party loyalty, the politician of "the old school" may find it harder to agree, at least in his inmost heart. In a speech to the Republican organization in Albany he said: "I count it the highest loyalty to the party to insist that the work done under Republican auspices shall be honestly done and well done. . . . No man is a friend of the Republican party who asks me or any one in authority to appoint a man or to retain a man who is not equal to his job." So he deems the fundamental principle of true party loyalty to be honest, efficient public service, not only because it is right (and that is always the first consideration in determining any question which presents itself to him), but because it is good policy.

"Give the people," he said further, "the idea that the main purpose of organization is to secure control for personal advantage or for favored interests, and sooner or later they will bring to grief the best-laid plans of the most astute leaders. But, on the other hand, convince them that organization is directed to the purpose of maintaining an honorable party policy and of promoting an administration of government in the interest of the people, and they will rally to its support."

Governor Hughes entered upon political life under unusual circumstances. He came into prominence at a time when startling revelations were being made of widespread abuses in the management of corporate enterprises, especially those like life insurance companies and public service corporations, which owe a peculiar duty to the public. He was nominated for his first public office, the Governorship, against the will of many party leaders, because they realized that he was the only man who could win. The temper of the people of the State, aroused by the revelations in the business world and the conditions of boss-controlled government which had helped to make those abuses possible, would not have tolerated a candidate who was suspected of being allied with the political machine. He entered upon the campaign unpledged to any faction, made his fight on a platform of State control of corporations and

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an honest and impartial administration for "rich and poor, corporations and individuals," and was elected, while the rest of the Republican State ticket met defeat. The unusual circumstances which placed him in office gave him an unusual opportunity. A Governor generally comes into office, in the effective phrase of Mr. Hughes, "with a phalanx." He owes his nomination, if not his election, to a faction; and the relationship which has existed through the campaign cannot be terminated on the day of inauguration. Mr. Hughes came in "without a phalanx, without even a Pretorian cohort." But he did come in equipped with a set of principles. Although he had never found time in his busy life, whose keynote since his earliest years had been work, for active participation in politics, he had found opportunity for reading and study. The result was an outfit of principles, which, since they were the product of his own thought, were as much a part of him as his keen intellect and his tireless energy.

He determined that in order to live up to his campaign pledges and to be true to his own principles, he must do two things: ally himself with no faction, and seek nothing for himself.

The second of these things the party leaders were probably only too glad to have him do; the first was quite a different matter. In accepting the nomination he had pledged himself to give the State "a sane, efficient, and honorable administration, free from taint of bossism or of servitude to any private interest," and had promised that "no individual or group of individuals and no private interest" would be permitted to dictate his policy.

That was all very well for the campaign, said the leaders, but now that he was elected it was a different story. He would have to be led gently but firmly into the proper path. But they did not yet know their man. One thing is supremely necessary, in fact, I am almost inclined to say it is the only thing necessary, in order to understand Charles E. Hughes. You must realize that he does not use language "to conceal thought." He means just what he says; he makes his words square with his principles, his beliefs, and his intentions, and then makes his acts square with his words. It is simple, though perhaps a little unusual—in politics. But the politicians could not or would not understand. So they tried to lead him where he should go.

They began the attempt just before he was inaugurated. The Superintendent of Elections in New York City resigned three weeks before his term expired. The purpose was obvious. The party leaders knew whom they wanted as his successor. They could influence Governor Higgins to appoint him; and when Hughes became Governor three weeks later, he would be bound, they thought, by considerations of courtesy to his predecessor and loyalty to his party, to reappoint him. They asked Hughes if he would do so, hoping to get him on record. He replied that Governor Higgins would do in the matter as he deemed right; when he became Governor himself he would take the matter up, and do what he believed right. It was impossible for him to determine in advance what his decision would be. If they had known the man, they would have been warned; but they did not. Their candidate was appointed, with three idle weeks to serve before the new Governor took office.

Now, if the party leaders had not been too clever, and had simply waited till Hughes was Governor, there is a strong probability that no objection would have been found to their candidate. But his appointment by Governor Higgins, with less than a month to serve, and nothing to be done in the office during that time—the obviousness of the political trick—stirred up the State. Governor Hughes was deluged with protests. It appeared that the nominee, while there was nothing to be said against him personally, was a Republican district leader. The impropriety of putting a district leader into the position of Superintendent of Elections was obvious, at least to the Governor. Mr. Hughes realized that his action would be a test of the sincerity of his campaign pledges. He could not make the appointment; but he did select a Republican and a strong partisan, to whom the organization could have no objection except that he was not their choice.

The incident had several important

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results. It helped to open the eyes of the machine leaders; it showed the people of the State that Governor Hughes interpreted his responsibility to them in the same way after his election as before; and it furnished a practical illustration of the principles which he was to follow in making appointments. He would appoint no man whom he did not believe to be efficient, "equal to his job;" and he would appoint Republicans. The principles are neither complicated nor revolutionary. Any Governor would doubtless have professed the same. The difference lay in the placing of the emphasis. With Governor Hughes fitness for public service is the supreme test; no amount of party loyalty and no considerations of party expediency can make up for a deficiency in that regard—a condition which has too often been absent under other executives. A prominent State Senator, in commenting on this phase of the Hughes administration, said:

"It isn't as it was in other days. Then I would go to the Governor and say, 'Governor, I want that place. I need it in my business. My man is So-and-so,' and the Governor would say, 'Well, if you need the office, I suppose your man will have to have it,' and he would be appointed. But you can't work that way with Hughes."

Another, speaking of the same phenomenon, said: "The last thing I should suggest to the Governor as a reason for appointing a man would be that he was a friend of mine. If I wanted something for myself, I shouldn't be so impertinent as to suggest that he give it to me because of our personal relations."

This attitude of Governor Hughes toward the question of appointments has often been misconstrued. He has been represented as holding aloof from his party associates, not seeking their advice, and spurning the recommendations which they have made in accordance with well-established custom. His first important appointment especially, that of Superintendent of Public Works, aroused comment and criticism of this kind. Even The Outlook said, "He . . . did not confer in advance with any member of the body from which he had to ask confirmation of his choice." But the facts were far otherwise.[1] When the office became vacant, three factions recommended candidates for his consideration. With the representatives of these groups he consulted day after day, endeavoring to reconcile them and to induce them to unite on one man. It was useless; none of the three men would satisfy the sponsors of the other two. He could appoint no one of them without allying himself with a faction of his party against other factions.

Since the party leaders could not find a man on whom they could agree, the Governor had to find one himself for the place. He did so, to his own satisfaction, and made the appointment without further consultation. The organization may not have been satisfied with the Governor's action, but once more they had no one to thank but themselves. He had done his best to act in harmony with them, till they made it impossible.

He tried to act with the party leaders whenever a place was to be filled; he only asked that their candidate be thoroughly fitted for the position. When a Tax Commissioner was to be chosen, the New York County Chairman presented a name; Governor Hughes found him "equal to the job," and promptly appointed him. For City Judge the Chairman's suggestion was just as quickly followed. But the requirement of efficiency has never been relaxed. The Surrogate of New York County recently died, at a time when his office was filled with work that needed to be cleared up. The County Chairman, as usual, presented the names of two men, both of whom had just been defeated for re-election as City Judges in New York City. Both were of unquestioned character and ability; in fact, both had been appointed to their former positions by Governor Hughes himself. The expected thing would be for one of them to be named for the larger place without question. But the Governor said: "I can't appoint either of them. They're good men and have made good

[1] We have made an investigation and find that the statement of the author of this article is correct, and The Outlook's statement, based on information we regarded as trustworthy, was incorrect. We are glad that we can, even after the lapse of some months, give to our readers the true version of the facts.—THE EDITORS.

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judges. But they have no especial qualifications for the position of Surrogate. They have had no experience with that kind of work. If I named one of them, it would be ascribed to sympathy for his recent defeat, or to party maneuvering. Now, I've known Mr. —— for fifteen years; he is a fine lawyer, and every big estate that's come into the courts in New York City for several years has been put in his hands for settlement. If I appoint him Surrogate, he'll go into the office familiar with its duties, and have the arrears of work cleaned up in no time." Mr. —— was clearly the man the office needed, and the organization's recommendations had to give way.

The most important appointments of the Governor's administration have been those of the members of the two Public Service Commissions. The positions were new, and carried with them great powers and unusual opportunities for far-reaching influence. They were just the kind of places that in the old days the politicians would have strained every nerve to control. But perhaps because, in the months since he took office, they had come to know the Governor better, perhaps because public sentiment had been so strongly aroused in favor of the bill creating the Commissions that they did not dare to meddle with the question of their personnel, the machine leaders kept their hands off. Governor Hughes was left free to make the appointments as he saw fit, and he saw fit to appoint the best men he could find. He even, in this one case, went outside party lines, naming at least one prominent (though independent) Democrat. But the only objection to his selection came from the minority leader in the Senate, who protested that his place should have been filled by a representative of labor. His protest was echoed on the same grounds only a week ago by the representatives of a union of railway men. The Governor's reply was characteristic. He said:

> I have chosen the men whom I believe to be best qualified for this very important work. Nothing is more important to our wage-earners than to secure to the highest degree possible efficient and impartial administration, and this has been my object in every appointment I have made. If I should attempt to make appointments for the purpose of satisfying particular interests, the result would be inevitably a patchwork of compromises. It would be impossible to satisfy all interests in this way, and for every one that would be pleased there would be many who would feel slighted.

The principle which Governor Hughes put foremost in making appointments to office, that no one should be named who was not "equal to his job," carried with it the corollary that no man should be retained in office who was not efficient. This doctrine was even more revolutionary than his belief that efficiency and not party loyalty should be the first test. It had not been customary to regard incompetence, unaccompanied by dishonesty or malfeasance in office, as sufficient cause for removal. But conflict with a tradition did not deter him from acting on a principle which he believed to be right.

He had been in office only six weeks when he asked for the resignation of the Superintendent of Insurance, Otto Kelsey. Mr. Kelsey refused to resign. The office which he held is one of several, removal from which, by an anomaly of the State law, is only by the Senate on the recommendation of the Governor. Mr. Hughes made the necessary recommendation, after giving Mr. Kelsey a public hearing, at which the Superintendent, in the opinion of a large part of the public and the press, demonstrated the justice of the Governor's charges. The Senate, however, failed to uphold the Governor, and Mr. Kelsey was not removed. Its action was probably the result of two causes: on the part of some, sincere friendship for Mr. Kelsey and a real belief that he had not shown himself so unfitted for his office as Mr. Hughes charged; and a desire on the part of the machine leaders to show the Governor that he could not have his way in everything.

The refusal of the Senate to follow his recommendation in the Kelsey case was heralded as a signal defeat for the Governor. But his interpretation of the incident gives an interesting commentary on his point of view. The laws of the State have laid a duty upon the Governor and the Senate, in which each has an equal share. When he had asked for

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Mr. Kelsey's resignation, had heard him in his own defense, and had recommended to the Senate that he be removed, the Governor had done his whole duty. If the members of the Senate refused to perform their duty, or interpreted it in a different way, that was their affair. His responsibility ended where theirs began. They could not *defeat* him by differing with him.

In fact, the Senate's action in the case undoubtedly strengthened the Governor's position on the question of removal from administrative offices. Governor Hughes believes that where the Governor has the appointing power he should have the power of removal for cause. And when the Public Service Commissions Law was passed it contained a provision to that effect, though the Legislature was by no means in favor of it.

A prominent member of the Assembly said, in commenting on the Governor's influence on legislation:

"Not twenty members of the Assembly were in favor of the provision giving the Governor the absolute power of removal over the Commissioners."

"Why, then," he was asked, "did they put it in the law?"

"Public sentiment," was the reply. "The Governor had aroused the people and they were with him."

So it is, perhaps, not too fanciful to see the effect of the Governor's "defeat" in the Kelsey case in his "victory" in the case of the Public Service Commissions Law.

Of equal importance with the position of the Governor on the question of appointments is his relation to legislation. Here again his theory is perfectly simple and straightforward. He will not attempt to influence legislation in a way that seems to him improper; he will not use the power of his office to reward or punish a legislator for his action in regard to any piece of legislation in which he is interested.

This theory, simple as it is, overturns precedent even more completely than his doctrine of the proper use of the appointing power. Many another Governor, not only in New York but in every State, has used his office to influence the law-making body in ways which, however proper they may seem to others, are to Governor Hughes nothing short of iniquitous. They have used patronage—granting or withholding offices to reward support of their measures or to punish antagonism; the absolute inconsistency of this practice with the Hughes method of making appointments is obvious. They have used the veto power to influence legislators; on this point the Governor's position might be stated something like this: Senator A has had a bill passed providing for a dam on the river in his home county. The Governor wants the Senator's help on a measure which he has recommended. He might promise to sign the bill for the dam if Senator A will vote for his measure, or threaten to veto it if the Senator votes against it. But if he pursues that course, he must either promise to sign a bill which ought not to become law or threaten to veto a bill which ought to become law; either action is essentially wrong. If every bill is to be considered, as it should be, in justice to the people of the State, on its merits, the Governor has nothing to offer.

The true course, as Governor Hughes sees it, is plain and unescapable. He will sign or veto each bill as he determines that his duty to the State requires; the legislation in which he is interested must take care of itself. If this be contrary to tradition, so much the worse for tradition; it is right.

But does that mean that he will not attempt to influence legislation in any way? Not at all. Such a course could neither be defended nor practically carried out. The Constitution has placed the Governor in two important relations to the business of law-making. He must recommend to the Legislature subjects for legislation, and he must approve the bills passed by it before they can become law. Governor Hughes has shown no intention or desire of taking the academic position of confining his attention to legislation to the performance of those two duties. The bill which embodied the greatest achievement thus far of his administration—that establishing the Public Service Commissions—was drafted by leaders in the Legislature; but after its introduction it received exhaustive study from the Governor and

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his legal adviser, and many changes were made in it, to its manifest improvement. On many other bills members of the Senate and Assembly received the benefit of the Governor's constructive ability and legal skill.

Another method which Mr. Hughes has adopted to influence the course of legislation is by letting it be known what kind of a bill on a certain subject he would be willing to sign and what kind he would inevitably veto. A year ago the Court of Appeals decided that the apportionment of the State into Senatorial districts, made by a preceding Legislature, was unconstitutional. The court specified two or three districts, all below the Bronx, as violating the provisions of the fundamental law. The leaders of the Senate determined that in passing a law to correct the defects of the existing apportionment only the districts criticised by the court should be altered. Governor Hughes let it be quietly known that such a bill would not receive his approval, for other parts of the State were divided, if not in violation of the Constitution, at least contrary to principles of justice and equity. The leaders made a wry face and took the hint. The State was apportioned anew, not without the practical co-operation of Mr. Hughes, and he assured the Senate committee that he would be willing to sign the bill as finally prepared. Meanwhile another bill had been prepared in the Assembly, and a deadlock arose between the houses over the two plans. The Governor was appealed to again and again to lend the weight of his influence to break the deadlock by recommending the passage of one of the bills. But he deemed his duty done, and left it to the members of the Legislature to settle among themselves which should be enacted. When the Legislature adjourned without passing either bill, he promptly reconvened it in extraordinary session, and set before it again its unfinished task. At last the Assembly yielded, and the Senate bill was passed.

The incident well illustrates his conception of the limits of his duty toward legislation. A bill which he believed to be unsatisfactory he would strongly oppose; but between two bills, both of which he presumably considered to satisfy the requirements of the occasion, he would not interfere.

Another instance of his influence on legislation has especial interest because it marks the introduction of a new method of dealing with the natural resources of the State. A bill passed both houses of the Legislature, granting a charter for the development of water power from a certain section of the St. Lawrence River. In accordance with immemorial custom, the charter gave the company without cost and perpetually about all the rights that any exploiter of natural resources could ask. When the bill reached the Governor, he refused to sign it. He then sent for hydraulic and electric engineers, had them calculate what the contemplated works would cost, how much power they might reasonably expect to produce, what return the power produced might reasonably be expected to bring in, and what would be a fair price for the company to pay to the State for the privileges granted in the charter. Then he called in the sponsors for the original measure, returned their bill unapproved, and showed them what kind of a measure he would be willing to sign. They liked the amendment no better than the Senate leaders had liked the Governor's apportionment decision, but they took their medicine, and passed the amended bill. It provided that the works must be in operation within fifteen years, that a payment of $10,000 should be made before any work was done, that $15,000 should be paid in 1910, $20,000 the next year, and $25,000 in succeeding years until power was being generated. Then the State was to receive a rental calculated on a sliding scale in proportion to the amount of power produced. The action of Governor Hughes in this case probably insures that never again will a right to use any of the natural resources of the State be given away without an adequate return to the people.

The most important method which Governor Hughes has adopted for the carrying of legislation which he believed the State needed is the appeal to public opinion. The principle he once expressed in saying, "The only proper

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way to hold up a Legislature is to hold it up to public sentiment."

It has been told above how the Public Service Commissions Bill was amended against the will of many in the Legislature through the force of public opinion. But not only was it modified, but its very passage was accomplished by Governor Hughes through an appeal to the people. When the measure seemed likely to fail, through antagonism in the Legislature, the Governor made addresses in four different cities of the State, explaining the importance of the bill, and why he recommended its enactment. His reasoning was cogent and his presentation of his view of the matter evidently persuasive, for the legislators soon found it good policy to give up their hostility to the measure. The direct appeal to the people on a specific piece of legislation is a bold innovation. But its boldness and its novelty have been justified by its success, not only in its effect on the particular measure in question, but also in its influence in strengthening the Governor's general position with the Legislature.

A review of the accomplishments of the first year of his administration shows Governor Hughes to be possessed of high qualites of constructive statesmanship and of real political ability, at least under the peculiar conditions which have surrounded him. He has raised the standard of administration in the State by insisting upon fitness as the prime and indispensable qualification for office; he has influenced the placing upon the statute-books of wise and progressive legislation; he has kept off the statute-books laws which were ill-considered, inconsistent with a general policy which the State had adopted or in his opinion should adopt, or in violation of the principle of home rule; he has enunciated a principle of party loyalty which would relieve from much of its burden of odium the name of politics; and in so far as the party leaders have sustained him and his policies, he has strengthened the position of the Republican party in New York State.

In the course of a tour through the middle of the State during the campaign the train stopped at a small manufacturing town. The candidate was led to a flat car on a side track, transformed with flags and bunting into a platform. After Mr. Hughes had made his speech to the assembled voters, the chairman rose and said: "Now, if you'll all come forward, the candidate will shake hands with you and show you that he's human."

Many people would doubtless be glad of that assurance, for the Governor seems not always to have made the impression of warmth and personal magnetism. And the reason is probably not far to seek. He first appeared before the public as the fearless, relentless inquisitor, engaged with all his energy in disclosing unsound business conditions and corporate and personal dishonesty; in the campaign his task was again one of exposure, this time of the pretensions and deceptions of a political charlatan; in the months of his administration he has been employed in the discharge of what is to him a very exacting and important duty. His public appearances have practically all been made in the course of his business of the moment; and his business, especially when it is the people's business as well, is to him a serious matter. He gives to it his best powers of application and concentration, and there is little opportunity for the amenities and the humor suited to less serious occasions. But those who know him in the hours when business is laid aside, in the more intimate relations of life, see him as one of the most human of men. His courtesy is uniform, a quality which, even in the most exacting moments of business, is never laid aside; but, in addition, he is genial and warm-hearted. A keen sense of humor enlivens and spices his talk, and makes him a delightful companion. If he works with an intensity none too common, he plays with whole-souled enthusiasm. He is a warm friend of children, and more than one family of youngsters look upon a visit from the Governor as a gala event. The splendid legal mind and the sensitive conscience are accompanied by a great, warm heart which makes him as lovable as a man as he is admirable as a Governor.

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ON THE TRAINING OF PARENTS[1]

BY ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT

FIFTH PAPER

FOR 'TIS THEIR NATURE TO

WHY we expect children to be more tranquil than a parliamentary body or a ministers' meeting I do not know and cannot imagine. To be troubled because children quarrel is to deplore one of their chief prerogatives—the prerogative of being themselves. The time to be troubled is not when they quarrel merely, but when they quarrel in the wrong way or about wrong things. To teach children how to quarrel and what to quarrel about is one of the duties of parents.

Together with some compensating advantages, an only child has one indisputable misfortune: there is no one in the family he can really quarrel with. No altercation he might have with a grown-up could be dignified with the name of quarrel. All his quarreling he must do outside his home. Consequently he cannot receive from his parents all the attention that he might receive if he were, say, one of six. When he finally encounters other children, he does not know the bounds either of expediency in tolerating their idiosyncrasies, or of right in maintaining his own. With skill his parents may acquire artificially for themselves, as well as for him, the experiences which naturally befall a larger household. It is plain, therefore, that those parents are fortunate who have quarreling children. To them avenues of education are open which are closed to the parents of an only child.

I do not refer to those roads which, originating in the nursery, have led to the depths of theology or to the heights of moral discourse. The road which has landed more than one theologian in meditation upon the depraved nature of the child may well have had its beginning in childish quarrels. There was Jonathan Edwards, for instance; he had ten sisters and about as many children. This suggests a fit subject for a thesis. Then that pleasanter if less picturesque way, bordered with the flowers and the weeds of rhetoric, which has brought the preacher and the versifier to sermons and rhymes for the edification of the young, must have received many a traveler from tributary paths of domestic strife. Isaac Watts, for instance, who being dead yet speaketh of dogs and bears and lions and children, was the eldest of nine. The avenues of education to which I refer, however, are open only to parents or vice-parents, and lead only to parental skill.

Some parents act as if they did not even know that these avenues exist. Consequently, when they encounter contention among their offspring, they fly in all directions at once. This undoubtedly makes for agility. For example:

Waves of turmoil burst through the closed door of the play-room, flood the stairway, and whelm to the ears the placid group of grown-ups in the living-room. As the visiting cousin nervously halts her small talk, and the tired mother lays down her knitting, the master of the house, with an air of finality, gesturing the others into subsidence, breasts the billows of sound. Upward, two steps in a stride, he makes an assault upon the play-room.

"What's all this about?" as he flings open the door. "Bless me! everybody can hear you all over the house. Your mother and I aren't undertaking to keep a zoo. Do you suppose that somebody can be running up here every five minutes? Besides, don't you know that your mother's cousin Bettina is visiting us, and that she is distracted by this sort of uproar? Now don't try to interrupt. What did you say? That Ruth threw a coal-car at you? Why, Ruth, my little girl! that's a very dangerous thing to do. If you had struck one of the boys in the eye, you might have made him blind. I shall have to take

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the cars away, if you are going to do dangerous things with them. What's that? They're not Ruth's cars? What of it? Does that make them any the less dangerous? Now, don't interrupt again. Besides, Ruth, that was a very unladylike thing for a little girl to do. And, boys, you are at fault, too. Ruth would never have done that if you hadn't done something to her. Is that the way young gentlemen should treat a young lady? And Ruth is younger than you. She can't defend herself unless she does something like that. I shall have to punish you all; perhaps that will help you to learn how to behave. Now, you boys, go over to Ruth and ask her pardon; and, Ruth, you kiss them and tell them you're sorry. And now play together properly. See if you can't get along till tea time without making a disturbance."

Satisfied that he has settled an acute difficulty, this composite father, in whose voice has sounded some tones that I dare not disown, descends the peaceful stairs. What he has actually done has been to throw into hopeless unsettlement a situation that was after a fashion already half settled. If the children are quiet, it is because they are dazed by the feats of an acrobatic adult mind. They have watched their father make a circuit of the situation, cross at least a half-dozen paths that led safely out, and, ignoring all, return to the point of departure. The benefit they have received from the performance is not at all the benefit he believes he has imparted. It has not been, as he fancies, the benefit of discipline; it has been the benefit of diversion. As for himself, he has received that most welcome of benefits—a mental frame of complacency.

Not being as nimble as he, we may find it worth our while to stop for a moment at each path that he passed and explore it. What we are prone to forget is that from almost every difficulty of this kind there are several exits, and that there is no progress made in attempting to travel more than one at a time. In this case, all need for the display of gymnastics might have been avoided by the consideration of a few simple questions.

One question has precedence of all others: Shall I interfere or not? To decide that question in the negative is to eliminate all the others. That it is necessary to do this the conjunction of a quarrel and a luncheon party may demonstrate. The critical time comes when there is no luncheon party. To allow children some chance to settle their own differences is as certainly an act of discipline as it is to settle every difference for them. It is none the less discipline for the children because it seems to be chiefly self-discipline. A younger sister once had a grievance; she made her protest with a strident whine. Annoyed by the outburst, her mother descended upon the whole crew, wormed out the merits of the case, and with an even hand apportioned among the offenders penalty or reproof. Having profited, as it happened, by this occurrence, the small girl, the next time she wished to gain an advantage over the others, resorted to the same whining outcry. Immediately the three older children fell to playing church. With a loud and discordant hymn, they designed to drown the sound of protest. Though at this time in the right, they preferred not to take the risk. Already well trained by her children, that mother was quick to remain where she was. It sometimes requires alertness to do nothing. Just though her interference had been, she saw that it not only had encouraged in one child an annoying mode of complaint, but also had suggested to the others a noisy mode of averting judgment. Thereafter it seemed easier for her to hesitate before participating in her children's controversies. How can children experiment with the principles with which their elders have tried to endow them, except upon those occasions when those didactic elders do not interfere? How, on the other hand, can those same elders see what effect their precepts have had, unless the children can begin a quarrel on the chance that they may end it themselves? Deliberately to determine not to interfere in a children's quarrel comes not of grace but of labor. Any one can lapse into indifference as to the merits of a dispute between two youngsters, but only one who has come through affliction to self-control can at the same time

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maintain an acute interest in the triumph of the just cause and keep his hands off. The virtue of non-interference is not a gift, it is an achievement.

Occasions which demand interference, however, occur frequently enough to supply with plenty of exercise any normally active parental mind. Whenever it is clearly best that the children should not be allowed to end their quarrel themselves, the parent who is not in search merely of self-complacency can ask himself a number of questions. Usually the time for asking and answering those questions is very brief. The exercise is vigorous while it lasts. On the way from the living-room to the nursery, the hastening parent can, for example, perform this rapid mental scale passage: To what purpose am I interfering? Is it to suppress a noise? or to avert a danger? or to teach courtesy? or to instruct in morals? or to do justice? or to establish an amicable basis? Later, and perhaps more deliberately, he will run over this scale of questions: What means shall I use? Shall it be force? or argument? or ridicule? or explanation? or advice? or instruction? or command? or punishment? It requires practice to pounce upon the note principally out of tune in a wealth of discord, and then to choose just the right tool for setting it right; but then there is no vocation more exciting than parenthood.

The noise of a quarrel may be its most serious offense. We can admit that fact without accepting as an invariable rule the maxim of our nervous, overwrought ancestors, Children should be seen and not heard. At times it seems, indeed, as if the present age were too phlegmatic. There are people for whose nerves children should be made to have some regard; there are invalids who do not thrive on din; there is necessary work which cannot be done in the midst of a racket; there are neighbors who declare, with some show of right, that they regard monopoly in noise as against public policy. So, whether for the sake of Cousin Bettina's nerves, or a tired mother's rest, or a busy father's conference with a creditor, or merely for the sake of reputation with the neighbors, it may be best to disregard all other factors and insist on quiet. That seems clear enough. The trouble with us pretentious grown-ups is that usually when we undertake to stop a quarrel because it is disturbing, we delude ourselves into thinking that we have some high moral purpose. We can expose our own fatuity by simply inquiring of ourselves, when we begin our preachment, Would we have interfered if this quarrel had not been so strepitous? It is one of the annoyances in the training of children that if we are to be honest with them we must be honest with ourselves. I do not see how that can be helped. And with children honesty is prerequisite to authority. To pretend that we chiefly want them to be good at a time when really we chiefly want them to be quiet is to renounce all influence over them when really we arrive at the point of chiefly wanting them to be good. That is reason enough for being honest with them. So when we set out towards a quarrel with the determination of suppressing a noise, we shall, if we are honest, deal with the quarrel, not as turpitude, but as noise. We may not be able to persuade the contestants of the existence of nerves, or headaches, or creditors, or neighbors, or even of our own reasonableness; but we shall at least probably succeed in conveying to them the genuineness of this single idea that is uppermost in our own mind: if you can't quarrel quietly, you shall not quarrel at all. If later we wish to impress upon them the necessity of being considerate of others, we can use that specific quarrel as an illustration without risking with them our reputation for singleness.

A quarrel may involve something which, even more than noise, demands instant interference. Two small boys were in an altercation. The older had a ball. The younger wanted that ball with a consuming hunger. The nearest weapon at hand was the discarded shaft of a golf club. Seizing it, he began his attack with reckless fury. The sound of a blow upon a piece of furniture followed by an outcry of fear brought their father to the room. His thought was not for anybody's manners or morals,

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nor for the disturbance, nor for a just settlement of the contest; it was for the defenseless boy's head. There was but one possible measure: immediate and forcible confiscation of the club. This was frankly not punishment—which would have involved a moral judgment—but simply humane intervention. The announcement that the club was to remain confiscated for a week merely emphasized the extent of the intervention, not the severity of a punishment. The incident might have served as an occasion for a lecture upon the danger of the wanton use of weapons; as a matter of fact, I believe, it was, of a sort; but—

"O daddy, it was my ball!"

"No, daddy, really it wasn't!"

All such discussion as to the merits of the dispute was quashed. Likewise was stifled all inclination on the part of the intervening parent to deliver a lesson on the evils of an ungovernable temper. That might not have been confusing, if it could have been made distinct from the act of intervention; but it was not necessary. The fault was not an excess of temper so much as a thoughtless or ignorant use of power. At least, that was the judgment on which this father acted. Whether he was right or wrong is not to the point; what is to the point is that he formed his judgment, acted upon it, and did not obscure the issue by confusing the consequences—or possible consequences—of a deed with its moral character.

Just as the physical consequence of a quarrel may be more important than its moral aspects, so may be its significance as an exhibition of manners. When their elders hopelessly intermingle precepts as to the amenities with deliverances upon ethics, children can hardly be blamed if they come to regard murder as in the same category with the wearing of tan boots to the accompaniment of a frock coat. An altercation marked by vulgarity or even by nothing more than delinquencies in courtesy may be more distasteful to grown-ups than one involving meanness or deceit. In such a case we may give interference the form of an expression of disgust, and keep the issue clear. If, however, we allow it to take the form of punishment, we might as well admit to ourselves that we are not engaged in disciplining children but in relieving our own feelings, and be grateful that we have at hand such an outlet for our emotions.

Occasionally there arises a quarrel which supplies a text for a moral lesson. A quarrel of this sort arose one day between a small boy of five or six and his sister a year or two older. The mother of these two had issued a command to the younger that he take off his wet shoes. In a few minutes she heard the sound of struggle. It called for investigation. There on the nursery floor was the lad, tearful and angry; near at hand his sister, reproachful and indignant. It appeared that his neglect of the order had aroused her to action. He resented her assumption of authority; she resented his resentment. The case was not as simple as it appeared to be. Punishment of the small boy without explanation would have seemed to him like punishment for disobedience toward a sister who was without authority. On the other hand, a rebuke of the sister for unwarranted assumption of authority would have seemed to her like a rebuke for loyalty to her mother. It was a case, not primarily for punishment or even for rebuke, but for moral instruction, or, if you prefer, explanation.

As an occasion for the doing of justice a quarrel among children often presents great perplexities. It is hard for a mother to be a just judge between her children. This is partly because she is so practiced in partiality for her children that she revolts at the apparent hardness of impersonal fairness; partly because she frequently cannot ascertain the facts. A mother who loves justice while she loves her children will not be quick to ascend the bench. Sometimes, however, she must. There was once called, for instance, the case of Ronald vs. Dan. After a statement of the case in turn by the two litigants, confirmed or corrected by the visiting playmate Davy, the facts seemed to be as follows: The boys were cutting advertising pictures out of newspapers. Each of the boys had his own pile of newspapers which was his property. Dan had on one of his papers

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a picture which he did not care for, but which Ronald cared for very much. No sooner had Ronald expressed his desire for this picture than Dan crumpled the paper up in his hand and threw it into the waste-basket. Hence the complaint. The act was undeniably one of meanness; it was done with the intent to exasperate; but it transgressed no rights. The paper was Dan's property to be disposed of as he pleased. Ronald had not the slightest claim upon it. This was clearly understood. While the trial was in progress, Davy, the witness, fished the paper out of the waste-basket, where it had become the personal property of nobody, cut out the picture, smoothed its wrinkles, and presented it to the grateful Ronald. Justice to Dan had compelled the recognition of his right to do with his own as he pleased. Judgment rendered for the defendant. Could any mother be satisfied with that outcome? So far as determining whether punishment was to be measured out, that ended the case. Strictly observing as between herself and her children their property rights, that judge could not refuse to enforce those rights as among themselves. This case, however, raised another question than that of justice.

This was the question of future amity. The generous action of Davy, the witness, made it possible to use the incident for furthering not only just but also happy relations among the children. It made the defendant somewhat ashamed of himself, although of course it did not in the least obscure to his mind the consciousness that the judge had dealt with him justly. It moreover restored the sun to the complainant's cloudy face. Thus at the same time it impressed on the mind of the guilty a sense of his own meanness and effaced the memory of that meanness from the mind of the aggrieved. It is not always that a judge has a Davy at hand. It will not, however, necessarily confuse matters if she act the part of Davy herself. It is sometimes possible thus to give a practical demonstration of the fact that the spoils of justice are not always satisfying.

As in walking, so in living with our fellows, some friction is necessary. To deprive a child of friction with other children is to keep him in slippery places. Unless we wish to teach him how to elude his kind, we shall not begrudge him his wholesome contests of skill, of wit, of strength, of temper. We shall only take care that he does his fighting fairly and not on too slight a provocation, that he knows how to yield to the weakness of another, that he does not learn to whine or snivel, that he does not become a tale-bearer, that he can take defeat or rebuke without callousness and without a whimper, that he becomes capable of forgetting his resentments and his personal triumphs over others, and that of all his victories he learns to value most those which he wins over himself.

AUSTRALIA'S "NEW PROTECTION"

BY ALICE HENRY

IN Australia, for many years now, labor legislation, through the Government control of industry, has exerted a modifying influence upon the inevitable tendency of a protective policy to subsidize unduly the manufacturing class. The "New Protection," as it is called, is an extension of the principle of the Wages Boards Acts, which aim to preserve for the workers a certain assured remuneration. Under the New Protection the field of this minimum wage legislation is extended to the trades subsidized or assisted under protective duties, so as to compel the manufacturers to share the accruing advantage with their employees.

The Tariff Excise Act is the first installment of the new legislation. It came into force on January 1, 1907, and was specially intended to protect the agricultural implement industry from American and Canadian competition. It placed upon imported harvesters a duty of sixty dollars. The Federal Labor party supported the manufacturers

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in obtaining the duty, on condition that there was inserted a clause imposing upon locally produced harvesters an excise duty of half the amount of the import duty. Manufacturers would, however, be exempt from the payment of this excise upon showing proof that their workmen had been paid "fair and reasonable remuneration."

At the close of the manufacturing season one hundred and twelve manufacturers of harvesters filed applications for exemption from excise duty. The case of Mr. Hugh Victor M'Kay, of the Sunshine Harvester Works, Braybrook, was taken as the test case. The Judge was Mr. Justice Higgins, sitting as the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration. The application was opposed by the Unions interested. After a hearing extending over several weeks, the Judge gave his decision against the applicant, refusing him exemption, on the ground that the wages paid were not "fair and reasonable remuneration."

During the hearing the two Unions chiefly interested, the Agricultural Implement Makers' Union and the Woodworkers' Union, had asked that the books should be produced so as to show how great had been the profit of the season just closed. This the Judge had declined to allow, since this would read into the Act the implication that if any harvester business could be proved to be carried on with no profit, it would then be open to a manufacturer to urge that it could not be expected to pay more than starvation or bare subsistence wages. The Act contemplated no profit-sharing scheme, but a guarantee of a living wage.

It remained to decide what was a living wage, and the court appropriately began with the lowest class of workman, the unskilled laborer. Mr. M'Kay paid his laborers $8.85 per week, and the occupation is largely a seasonal one. The question to be settled, as a basis for all the rest of the finding, was, "Is this a living wage?" It was shown that public bodies usually paid $9.50. Besides that, evidence was taken from a land agent as to rent, from a butcher as to the price of meat, and from nine housekeeping women, who produced housekeeping lists, or family budgets. This gave the items for a statistical basis for the following comparison:

M'KAY SCALE

Wage	$8.85
Weekly expenses, including rent, groceries, bread, meat, milk, fuel, vegetables, fruit	8.00
Leaving, to cover all other expenses—light, clothing, shoes, furniture, carfare, taxes, life insurance, savings, union or accident benefit, school requisites, beer, tobacco, gifts, church, amusements, or any unusual expenditure, such as that involved by want of employment, accident, or death	$ .85

The scale fixed by the court, after long investigation, for this lowest class of labor, was $9.50, to allow for the following rate of expenditure:

TARIFF EXCISE SCALE

Wage	$9.50
Weekly expenses	8.00
Leaving, to meet all other expenses	$1.50 [1]

The employers' counsel brought forward no evidence in denial on the subject of working families' expenses.

This formed the basis of the entire Tariff Excise scale, since from it the court calculated the rates of payment for all other employees. This was the easier because there was but little difference of opinion between the employers and the respective unions as to the proportionate wages to be paid to various classes of skilled labor, and, with the price for unskilled labor raised, a similar increase followed in all the skilled trades in the business of manufacturing harvesters.

As this was the first finding under an absolutely novel Act, the Judge elected to place on record fully the reasons which led to his decision. He began by condemning entirely the principle of judge-made law, saying that it was a legislative and not a judicial function to deal with social and economic problems, and that in this case in particular the definition of the words "fair and reasonable remuneration" should not have been left to the discretion of the judge without giving him some general principles by which

[1] It must be remembered, in connection with these figures, that money goes somewhat further in Australia than in the United States.

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he could determine whether wages were "fair and reasonable" or the reverse. "But," he added, "I shall do my best to ascertain by inference the meaning of the enactment. I interpret the Act, then, as intended to secure for employees something which they cannot get by the ordinary system of individual bargaining with employers, the usual but unequal contest, the higgling of the market, else why should there have been this Act at all? Surely the State in stipulating for fair and reasonable remuneration for employees means that wages shall be such as shall provide them food, shelter, such rest as they need, and a condition of frugal comfort estimated by current human standards. . . . So far as the Excise Tariff is concerned, the employer can displace men by introducing machinery as he chooses. He can make the work as monotonous and as mind-stupefying as he thinks to be for his advantage. He has an absolute power of choice of men and of dismissal. He is allowed to make any profits that he can, and they are not subject to investigation; but when he comes in the course of his economies to economize at the expense of human life, when his economies involve the withholding from his employees of reasonable remuneration or reasonable conditions of human existence, then, as I understand the Act, Parliament insists on the payment of excise duty."

The first direct effect of the Harvester decision is that every one affected is taking a long breath and looking around to see what the other fellow is going to do next. Mr. M'Kay, after a busy and, by his own admission, a very profitable season, has closed down temporarily till he can consider the situation.

The most conservative newspaper in Melbourne admits that "Mr. Justice Higgins's scale cannot be considered unfair or unreasonable on the whole," although it sees in the Act itself a dangerous precedent for the future.

On the constitutional issue no one disputes that the Commonwealth can collect excise. It is only the Federal Parliament's right to grant exemption that is disputed, and those who are claiming exemption can hardly stultify their own cause by pleading that the Federal authorities cannot grant them exemption.

Then there is the question of what is to be done with the excise when collected. Three-fourths of all ordinary customs duties are handed over to the States wherein they are collected. But what of the remaining fourth? Some of the Labor party are claiming that the very object of the exemption clause will be defeated unless part of the excise is expended in paying the men so as to raise their wages up to the tariff excise scale for the whole period that has elapsed since January 1, 1907.

Another argument in opposition is that the Act itself is an effort to gain by a legal subterfuge the Federal control of all factory administration. Both sides agree that this trial is but a chapter, though a most significant one, in the story of "The New Protection." The Harvester legislation is only the forerunner of plans for extensive control over industry to be brought forward as soon as the import duties under the recently introduced tariff are decided.

In this the three objects to be gained are not always easily reconciled, and the detail work, besides, of drafting rules and regulations to result in a moderately practicable working Act will be enormous. These objects are:

1. To conserve the market for the Australian manufacturer.

2. To insure fair remuneration to the employee.

3. To protect the consumer by placing a limit upon the price which may be charged.

The rough outline of the proposals is as follows:

All dutiable goods bearing the Commonwealth Trade-Mark (a sort of universal label) as a guarantee that they have been manufactured under fair and reasonable conditions as to remuneration of labor will be exempt from excise.

A board of excise, to consist of three members, to be appointed to give effect to these proposals.

All goods manufactured under conditions which are in accordance with the State or Commonwealth industrial award or agreement, or which are declared to be fair and reasonable by the newly

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created board of excise, will be entitled to have the Commonwealth Trade-Mark affixed.

The decision has excited the most intense interest all over Australia. Judge Higgins's well-known democratic sympathies, the minute care he bestowed upon the most trifling details of the lives of the humblest workers, the effort which he, a great constitutional lawyer, made to interpret in its true meaning a law which on the verbal side he criticised as imperfectly drafted and too vaguely expressed, has set a standard that will be impossible for future legislators to forget or for future judges to ignore. His decision in the M'Kay Harvester case is memorable inasmuch as it marks a milestone in the history of the ethics of the industrial problem.

The trouble to masters, men, and the community involved by these technical difficulties and by any inconsistencies is far outweighed by the moral effect produced. This powerful protest that even a successful industry is not everything, that the human being and the conditions that go to make a community of happy human beings are more important than any material success, and that the manufacturer who is making a fortune can be allowed to retain it only if he has fulfilled the primary condition of paying his working people at a rate that will insure the average working-class family a decent subsistence, means much.

And the practical unanimity of the whole community in favor of a human standard of living for all as an admirable and patriotic end, however widely conservative and radical may differ on details, offers a cheering prospect.

Australia may make many blunders, but she has at least the courage to blunder. She may have many a backwash, but in holding up standards like these she is doing much for other nations; she is adding to the body of social experience; she is raising the social-ethical standard of the whole world.

THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM

BY MARY STEWART DAGGETT

Author of "Sue-Chang the Faithful," "The Lion and the Lamb," other Chinese Sketches, etc., etc.

IN Paradise "Old Baldy's" white head substantiates legend, insures the life of Santa Claus. If it were not for the great peak's snowy crest and glittering sides, children of the San Gabriel Valley might doubt an oft-repeated tale. But the story of many lands holds true when, shortly before Christmas, the mountain puts on a blanket of cut crystal. Then little ones clap sun-browned hands and shout, "Santa Claus is coming!" At last the bulging sledge, the prancing reindeer, are realities, waiting to slide over the range, down into blooming gardens dressed with waiting fir-trees.

Temple Hill was alive to approaching Christmas joy, for this year the grandchildren had come early, two full weeks before the promised day. Meantime, preliminary celebration was taking on a spirit somewhat akin to the Fourth of July. On the terrace Sue-Chang shot Chinese firecrackers and flew Celestial kites for the entertainment of Fräulein and her charges—two baby boys from the wintry East. From a point of vantage the Mistress of the Hill kept strenuous watch above her grandsons. Mingling with shouts of infant glee were frequent exclamations in German, while close to the scene of action Pat Ryan, the Irish gardener, passed bland remarks on Chinese art.

Suddenly Sue-Chang exulted. Two charming bird kites—one red, the other yellow—had vaulted safely into cloudless blue.

"Now little men fly him all light," the Celestial proclaimed. He placed a ball of twine in each extended, chubby hand.

"Must hold tight," he commanded. "Plitty soon let out more stling, so bird fly high! high! high! all same pidgeon." He laughed good-naturedly, then

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fled before the exigencies of approaching luncheon.

The grandmother came upon the terrace to assist in kite-lifting. If her object appeared less scientific than Franklin's, it was equally engaging. In truth, the shouts of grandsons send electric thrills throughout the universe. The grandmother did not need a flash of forked lightning to complete her circuit. Higher and higher soared the kites. A great black vulture, marking red and yellow prey, swooped down, sailed forward, then lifted to a higher zone. The boys forgot their paper birds in ecstasy of wonder, but the grandmother and Fräulein caught valiantly two rolling balls of twine.

"Plitty big fool, that vulture, think Chinese kite make dinner!" cried Sue-Chang. He was back upon the terrace. "I bling invitation," he explained, presenting with pride a large white envelope. "Heap style, all same you daughter ledding card." His golden brow shone. "This year boys spend lot money, not let that M. E. Mission get ahead." The mistress bowed her acknowledgment. "Last year," he went on, "M. E. boys make heap big time, get invitation all plint—do much more lan Plesbyterian boys. Now we beat those M. E. boys, sure."

The lady smiled, then read upon a thick, doubly incased sheet a polite summons to appear, with her family, at the Presbyterian Chinese Mission on the evening of December the twenty-third.

"Ploglam followed by fine refleshments!" Sue-Chang exulted. "Boys have Clistmas early—head time, so not too much work at home. You come? Bling you husband—all the family?" He awaited the reply with anxiety. "I hope you all come," he entreated, half skeptical of the honor craved.

"We shall certainly accept the invitation," the lady assured him.

"Len I most happy," he owned, with downcast eyes. "I like my family all be plesent, claus I make speech."

His eyes lifted, while a ruddy flush mounted to his golden brow. The spirit of oratory had awakened Celestial ego; for the first time in his life Sue-Chang was smitten with vainglory.

"I say my speech lovely," he went on with shameless confidence. "Teacher say my speech more better lan any udder boy. I make my speech up myself—all out my own head!"

A shadow passed over the face of the Mistress, but with commendable resolve she smiled. Could it be possible that original composition might interfere with savory efforts of years back? Would Sue-Chang's concoctions of oratory mix with material salads? She reasoned from the inner soul, painfully aware of her own inadequacy, for she had never been able to rule with success conflicting domestic and literary passions. When she occasionally visited a woman's club, she felt her limitations keenly. There she was told that talent rises from soapsuds, as sparkling as Venus from the sea. One poetess had fished up a lyric with her dishcloth. The Mistress of Temple Hill was not gifted enough for joint endeavor; she mistrusted the effect of oratory upon roasts and *entremets*.

Sue-Chang still waited, yet another request trembling on his lips.

"What is it?" the lady asked; "what can I do for the Mission boys?"

"One layer cake—three dozen lady-flinger—few sugar kliss—one basket loranges," he enumerated.

"Certainly," the Mistress answered; "make everything that you have mentioned."

"Thank you. You always so kind. Boys say my people velly high tone," Chang declared by way of compliment. "I gless I bake cocoanut cake, cover over jus' like snow—all same Clistmas!" He chuckled like a child. Then his countenance intensified. "After all, I heap scare," he owned with new importance.

"Nonsense!" said the Mistress; "you never fail with cake; why should you be alarmed now?"

Scorn ruffled the Celestial's amber forehead.

"I not scare 'bout my cake. I bake best cake this town. Cocoanut cake, lady-flinger jus' easy—no tlick make those! I scare 'bout my speech; flaid I get cold feet, not say 'bout those Bethlehem Star like teacher tell me."

"Oh, I see," said the Mistress.

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"Jus' this way," Chang went on with an eloquent motion. "My flend Gam learn his piece in book. Maybe he forget, len teacher start him up. I not do that way, can not be start up—must think all time, inside my own head. I ploud you come hear me make speech. I sing, too," he continued, blandly. "Four boys sing three time, all togedder. That not velly hard. One song heap lovely, 'most like my speech, all 'bout that star—those shepherd watching flock, len glory shine alound!"

"I know the hymn," said the Mistress.

She turned her attention once more to kites. Sue-Chang moved away, but through days preceding the promised event he reported progress. Still, in no instance did the study of oratory and song interfere with the family digestion. There were no blunders in seasoning, no charred results to mark the course of Celestial dreams.

On the morning of the great event the Mistress tried in vain to curtail the duties of her cook. Sue-Chang's preparations for the Mission spread had been completed the night before, and he was now calm before an impending rôle. Doubtless the perfection of his cake gave him fresh confidence in regard to his speech.

"I get dinner half-hour early—that all dlifferlence," he insisted; then, with rising concern, "Maybe you let Pat take lunabout, dlive me down Mission? I take my refleshment, help boys decolate. We make all heap lovely for visitor. I go after lunch, not stay velly long."

He beamed over the prospect. "Everybody so kind this good Clistmas time—all because that star." The theme still held him.

"You see my hair? Pat give me that slick cut—save me two bit. I glad I not have my queue now I make speech." The acknowledgment welled from the Celestial's heart; the spirit of progress was with him. But not until evening did the Mistress realize the full import of Chinese reform.

At the time specified in the invitation she arrived at the Mission, to find everything most correct and impressive. Flowers and electric light swinging in handsome colored lanterns made gala background for a tall Christmas tree, dressed with Chinese taste, fairly bending beneath its burden of gifts. The picturesque charm of former celebrations was perhaps missing, for gay flowing sleeves no longer adorned the queueless Celestials who ushered at the door or passed programmes to guests with elaborate bows. Yet if American "store clothes" fell short of grace and color, there was now for the budding heathen a new brightness, a rising glow of intelligence lifting from ages of superstition. Natural characteristics of the race—true politeness, gentleness, and loyalty—remained unchanged. If æstheticism suffered, ethics flourished.

As the Mistress of Temple Hill gazed over a packed audience, she found herself smiling to friends. The élite of Paradise were assembled in force—not only those employing Chinese cooks, but a number of winter visitors from small adjacent hotels where "yellow angels" held culinary sway. Every one had come for a merry time, curious, yet outwardly respectful to an occasion all too serious for Sue-Chang. For Chang had met the Temple Hill household with a wan, pathetic smile. The possibility of "cold feet" was with him. Still, when he moved up and down the aisle with programmes, active service seemed to relieve the strain of coming events.

When the exercises actually began, he gathered ease from an outlet of song. "Pull for the Shore, Sailor" and "When Shepherds Watched their Flocks by Night" both went off with melodious effect. The quartet—loudly applauded each time—became blasé. To all appearances Sue-Chang was himself again.

Then Kim-Lee, president of the evening, called his name; the speech was due. The next moments were tragic, not only for the orator, but for the family of Temple Hill. Would Sue-Chang never begin? Was "The Star of Bethlehem" to be produced in pantomime? The Mistress clasped her hands, and toyed anxiously with a lorgnette. Her Celestial's elaborate bow had brought her confidence; now, alas! he seemed as one struck dumb. Greenish pallor spread over the amber of his cheeks. But he was bowing again; for on the outskirts

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of a seated throng up rose Pat Ryan. The "lion's" tawny head shone above a barricade of women's hats. Suddenly his hairy fist shot out menacingly. Sue-Chang caught the signal and smiled pathetically. The fist swung forward, almost hitting a bulwark of plumes and chiffon. Pat's countenance was strained in every visible line; his whiskers bristled with unconditional rage. The gray-green eyes shot yellow darts at Sue-Chang, electrified him—at last brought him back to life. Picture hats went down before the mirth of shaking girls, yet the Irishman held the field.

Now at last "The Star of Bethlehem" was rising, shining in the East. Then the wise men came, seeking the Holy Child. Sue-Chang had caught his theme, was going forward with the simple story.

From the rear of a smiling audience the Irishman encouraged—made plain his disgust whenever the Celestial drew halting reflections from the Star. But confidence, enjoined by closing efforts, had restored Chang's golden hue. The Mistress hoped that the oratorical crisis had passed. Forgetful of all but his hope for the awakening Chinese Nation, the Celestial plunged on; grew eloquent with assurance.

"That Star of Beth-le-hem shine many, many year," he declared without a quaver. "Everyone look up, be glad, have happy time claus that blight Star! Plitty soon all people see that Star, be good—be kind unto one anudder—do no great sin. Now—now—the light—" He stalled hopelessly. Pallor overspread his dark face; he was all but lost.

"The loight is breaking," prompted Pat, above intervening hats. He had attended frequent rehearsals—knew the cue; Sue-Chang must be saved at any personal cost. "The loight is breaking!" This time the lion roared.

A wilting orator repeated the eloquent assumption. "The light is blaking," Chang went on, then gathered strength for a successful climax. "The light is blaking! over the sea—that Star of Beth-le-hem shine for old China." A modest bow completed the ordeal; at last the speech was finished.

"Thank Heaven!" said the masculine representative of Temple Hill. The Celestial's struggle involved family pride; until now the master had not understood vicarious oratory.

Sue-Chang's golden countenance relaxed amid rounds of applause. Smiles hid at the corners of his eyes as he vainly sought for Pat Ryan. But the Irishman had dropped below the horizon of picture hats, doubtless relieved that his own heavy part was over.

Later, when the programme terminated with an address by Pastor Gow, a visiting celebrity from Los Angeles, the "lion's" tawny mane again lent character to the outlying circle. When Sue-Chang brought a handsome embroidered silk handkerchief from the Christmas tree and pressed it feelingly upon his shrinking friend, the Mistress marked the pantomime. All expression had now vanished from Pat's pale countenance. His tawny, hairy visage seemed devoid of emotion. The small green eyes had retreated, as it were, under cover of bushy yellow brows. Only the droll corners of the man's mouth evinced his satisfaction. Pat was as tame as a happy lion duly fed. Still he would not budge from his outlying position. The lair of picture hats yet sheltered him. While Sue-Chang served him to Christmas sweets, the Mistress turned her attention to the resplendent tree. For every one invited was being remembered in some delicate way. The charming gifts to the teacher, and those equally favored, filled her with amazement. When Kim-Lee, master of ceremonies, announced her name, she was strangely moved to receive a large bright box. The significant decoration on the rose-twined lid led her to look for a prize, and she was not disappointed. Under layers of soft rice-paper she found an exquisite tea-cloth, richly embroidered with the symbolic dragon. Her Celestial's red card lay on top. Laboriously inscribed was his loyal greeting to Temple Hill; then, as climax to a faithful career—"Fifteenth annual, from old Sue-Chang."

Every moment the Christmas tree dispensed a tasteful gift, as each proud servant honored his represented household.

Finally, the best Chinese cooks in Paradise vied before their guests with

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delicacies, daintily served, in accordance with inculcated forms. On this night Celestial etiquette shone supreme, unconsciously reflecting both the teaching and artifice of many establishments. An amusing biograph appeared to pass before the eyes of the observant Mistress, who thought she detected the company manners of friends in the duly adapted convention of their "yellow angels."

When Sue-Chang bowed before her with plate and napkin, she dismissed the fancy, and hastened to congratulate him upon his speech. But he had been too ambitious to feel satisfied with a laborious, halting effort. He smiled wanly, then shook his head.

"I know I not do good—forget all time—not say half!" he owned, dejectedly.

Yet it was not until next morning, upon the terrace, that he unburdened his soul. When he again sent up bird kites for the clamoring grandsons—still waiting for Santa Claus—he turned wistfully to the Mistress.

"I gless I not tly make speech any more." His humility was touching. "I solly I get cold feet, but cannot help. My head all so stupid. I forget everything! Len I see Pat. Pat so mad, make fist all same fight me. Plitty soon I remember—see that start—get move on. Len I do my best. But I not be educate, cannot say speech veily good—all same Pastor Gow. Maybe some day my little son be educate, make lovely speech, not get cold feet same he fadder. I gless I jus' be cook—make good cake, not tly that speech any more." He laughed resignedly, then went to his kitchen to perform his vow.

BOOKS ON PRESENT PROBLEMS[1]

NOT long ago, in reviewing a group of books on Socialism, we called attention to the impetus given to Socialistic agitation by recent industrial and commercial developments. Since then we have received a number of publications similarly concerned with the present and future welfare of society but distinctly non-Socialistic or anti-Socialistic in tone, and making very clear the fact that Socialistic advocates are by no means to have the field of discussion entirely to themselves. Some of the later works, indeed, stoutly combat the growing tendency to what has been described as semi-Socialistic reformative action. Pre-eminent in this respect are Professor Hugo R. Meyer's two books "The British State Telegraphs" and "Public Ownership and the Telephone in Great Britain." Rather more than two years ago, it may be remembered, Professor Meyer presented in a compact volume, bristling with statistics, the results of a personal inquiry into the facts of municipal ownership in leading British cities. He gave it as his belief that the experiences of these cities have been such as utterly to discredit the doctrine that "the so-called municipal public ownership industries which make use of the public streets differ in vital respects from the ordinary trading and manufacturing industries;" he declared that municipal ownership failed to satisfy the demands of a progressive age, that it rendered inefficient service, benumbed private initiative, and bred political corruption.

Very much the same conclusions are reached in his present volumes, dealing not with municipal but with state ownership. Again he goes to Great Britain for his facts and figures, and again his investigations result in sweeping charges of inefficiency and corruption. In fact,

[1] The British State Telegraphs. By Hugo Richard Meyer. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50, net.

Public Ownership and the Telephone in Great Britain. By Hugo Richard Meyer. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50, net.

Railway Corporations as Public Servants. By Henry S. Haines. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50, net.

Essentials of Economic Theory. By John Bates Clark. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2, net.

The Distribution of Ownership. By Joseph Harding Underwood, Ph.D. (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. 28.) The Columbia University Press. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

The Growth of Large Fortunes. By G. P. Watkins, Ph.D. American Economic Association. The Macmillan Company, New York. In paper, $1.

Wage-Earners' Budgets. By Louise Bolard More. (Greenwich House Series of Social Studies—No. 1.) Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.50.

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he does not hesitate to assert that the verdict of British experience is that "it is more difficult to safeguard and promote the public interest under the policy of State intervention than under the policy of *laissez faire*." This certainly is not the prevailing view among economists any more than among the general public, and it cannot be said that Professor Meyer advances altogether satisfactory arguments in support of his position. In the main, he rests his case on evidence demonstrating the costliness of public ownership, the inadequacy of the service rendered, and the pressure exercised on government by the employees of the state. But, as the advocates of public ownership of public utilities will not be slow to remind him, the issues involved are something more than questions of efficiency and dollars and cents; and it is debatable whether civil servants can ever unduly influence a government to anything like the extent, and with anything like the baneful results, possible to-day to powerful combinations of capital. However, if Professor Meyer's books are to be regarded as pieces of special pleading rather than the findings of a strictly impartial judge, they should at least prove serviceable in impressing on the public consciousness the need for thorough and careful deliberation before embarking on any radical policy of reform.

In the case of the public utilities problem, of course, there are many who think that the correct solution is to be found not in public ownership but in public control; and this, so far as the railway business of the country is concerned, is clearly the opinion of Mr. Henry S. Haines, author of a singularly informing little treatise on "Railway Corporations as Public Servants." Mr. Haines does not approach the question of railway regulation from the standpoint of a mere theorizer; he is a practical railway man of many years' experience. Naturally, he is desirous of presenting the case for the railways in as favorable a light as possible; but at the same time, as the title of this book indicates, he recognizes their true position, and that they are themselves to blame for the present disfavor with which they are regarded. In large part his pages are given over to an account of the evolution of railroading in the United States, the practices which have brought it into disrepute, and the efforts made to wipe out these practices. But, besides this, he bends his efforts towards developing a constructive programme of reform, proffering some suggestions which can only be enumerated here but which deserve to be thoughtfully studied by our lawmakers.

To begin with, Mr. Haines advocates legal regulation of passenger fares on a basis of the cost of the service, predicting that this would have the effect of enormously increasing the use of the railways, with great profit to the railway companies. Legal regulation of freight rates, however, he believes to be out of the question because of the complexity of the considerations involved; but he does regard as entirely feasible and highly desirable "the intervention of the law and its administrators to regulate the relative *incidence* of rates upon communities that enjoy the competition of rival carriers, and upon those which do not, but which are limited to the service of a single carrier." He would further have the government adopt a system of railway inspection similar to the existing system of steamboat inspection, would compel the railways to live up to their time-tables, would insist that they render better freight as well as better passenger service, and would prevent interruptions to service due to labor troubles by providing for compulsory arbitration of differences between railway companies and their employees. This last is obviously a most important recommendation, as is Mr. Haines's final recommendation that the Inter-State Commerce Commission enlist the aid of the American Railway Association. "That Commission," he contends, "would thereby secure the services of the best experts in the country without cost—experts who would be in position to give the weight of corporate authority to the conclusions that might be jointly reached. But if the Commission is to consider questions of operation apart from the railroad managements, and to heed only the crude suggestions of irresponsible advisers, it will, in so doing, but confirm previous experi-

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ence with respect to the misdirection of governmental regulation."

The railway problem again comes up for consideration, together with many other problems, in Professor John B. Clark's "Essentials of Economic Theory as Applied to Modern Problems of Industry and Public Policy." To the general reader, unacquainted with the complicated terminology and finely drawn distinctions of most writers of modern economic treatises, much of Professor Clark's book will prove uncommonly hard reading. But it is a book that is evidently intended for the general reader as well as for the student of economics, and, fortunately, those portions of it which are of most importance to the general reader are couched in sufficiently concrete and non-technical language. Studying attentively the economic progress of society, and analyzing the bases on which that progress rests, Professor Clark finds himself justified in taking an optimistic view of the future. But he also discerns certain dangers which must be overcome if his optimism is to be vindicated. Chief among these he places the danger of monopoly: "Competition must be kept alive. In altered ways, indeed, the essential power of it must forever dominate the industrial system, as it will do if the State shall do its duty, and not otherwise." Wherever monopoly, then, threatens the extinction of the competitive principle, the state should intervene; not to create a monopoly of its own, but to keep the field open for independent enterprise. To quote again:

"Great indeed is the contrast between the present condition and one in which the government had little to do but to let industry alone. Letting free competitors alone was once desirable, but leaving monopolies quite to themselves is not to be thought of. It would, indeed, lead straight to socialism, under which the government would lay hands on business in so radical a way as to remove the private *entrepreneurs* altogether. If we should try to do nothing and persist too long in the attempt, we might find ourselves in the end forced to do everything. What is of the utmost importance is the kind of new work the government is called on to do. It is chiefly the work of a sovereign and not that of a producer. It is the work of a law-giving power, which declares what may and what may not be done in the field of business enterprise. It is also the work of a law-enforcing power, which makes sure that its decrees are something more than pious wishes or assertions of what is abstractly right. All of this is in harmony with the old conception of the state as the protector of property and the preserver of freedom. The people's interests, which the monopoly threatens, have to be guarded. The right of every private competitor of a trust to enter a field of business, and to call on the law for protection whenever he is in danger of being unfairly clubbed out of it, is what the state has to preserve. It is only protecting property in more subtle and difficult ways than those in which the state has always protected it."

Developing the views expressed in this paragraph, which admirably sums up the situation, Professor Clark proposes the taking of immediate action to curb monopoly in all fields of economic activity—in industry, in commerce, in transportation. Nor would he have the state strike only at monopolies of capital. Monopolies of labor are similarly deadening to the principle of competition which he emphasizes as all-essential to future progress. Organized labor, therefore, must also be regulated by law. "Collective bargaining is normal, but barring men from a field of employment is not so. Connected with this undemocratic policy are certain practices which aim to benefit some laborers at the cost of others, and thus tend to pervert the distributive process." And, since the public is a vitally interested third party in all disputes between labor and capital, Professor Clark urges the adoption by the state of a system of arbitration which, in his opinion, would practically put an end to strikes and lockouts.

Comprehensive and stimulating as his treatise is, it necessarily fails to discuss in detail all of the many topics of present-day interest on which it touches. Two of these, and not the least important, are made the subject of special inquiry in

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Professor Joseph H. Underwood's "The Distribution of Ownership" and Dr. G. P. Watkins's "The Growth of Large Fortunes." In the former the whole question of private property and ownership is threshed out, largely from the historical standpoint. It is Professor Underwood's contention that social experience goes to prove that private property can be private property only relatively speaking, since legal restriction is an inherent fact in ownership. Property, he holds, is relation to men rather than to things, and ownership he defines as control over men. Consequently, he would say with Washburn that "the right of property is so far limited that its use may be regulated from time to time by law, so as to prevent its being injurious to the equal enjoyment by others of their property or inconsistent with the rights of the community." In other words, without viewing property as the Socialist would view it, Professor Underwood stoutly contends for the supremacy of the state, and the necessity of the state's taking action to prevent undue concentration of ownership in the hands of private individuals or corporations.

Present conditions, as may be imagined, are by no means to his liking. "Political domination by corporations is all but the rule in America." Still, like Professor Clark, he feels warranted in taking a hopeful view of the years to come. Surveying the facts of history, in all countries and all ages, he finds that there has been a constant increase in real liberty, measured quantitatively. "Feudalism in its outcome meant greater security for the mass. Modern liberty of ownership has the sanction of more democratic unity. The internal integration of society as the great nations gird themselves for the commercial struggle will again give the mass greater security, more harmonious social adjustment." And in the coming readjustment he feels certain that the rich and the poor will both be gainers—the rich by acquiring higher social ideals, and the poor by the mitigation of "that poverty which is so damning to personality, so corrupting to social ties, so subversive of family affections through the urgency of individual needs."

Such, in brief outline, is Professor Underwood's book. Without proposing any concrete reforms, and weakened at times by an unjudicial impatience, it at least indicates valid reasons for cheerfulness and confidence; and, by its review of the facts of the historic past, it confirms the belief that the world has grown better as it has grown older. Dr. Watkins's "The Growth of Large Fortunes" is likewise non-reformative in scope. Dr. Watkins is careful to make it plain that he deems the growth of excessive fortunes a baneful social phenomenon, and that he expects the state to take action to limit the continuance of the tendency to the concentration of wealth. But his object in the present work is not to discuss the social aspects of the problem, nor to devise plans for corrective legislation; it is simply to acquaint his readers with the economic factors which have operated to bring large fortunes into existence. These, roughly speaking, are, on his showing, identical with the factors that have made for economic progress generally—the development of improved methods of production and distribution, the growth of invention and discovery, the exploitation of natural resources unutilized by previous generations, the steady and unprecedented growth of capital. Side by side with these, however, Dr. Watkins emphasizes, as perhaps the chief cause of the large fortunes of to-day, and certainly a precondition to their existence, the expansion of what he calls abstract property, meaning thereby property as represented in stocks, bonds, and the like. It goes without saying that by confining himself as he does to the purely economic phases of the problem, and avoiding any discussion of the influence exerted by such factors as privilege and corrupt pressure on government, he does not cover his subject in its entirety. But within its self-imposed limitations his examination is certainly thorough and informative.

At the opposite pole, in point of subject matter, is Mrs. Louise B. More's "Wage-Earners' Budgets." This may be described as a study in small fortunes. It is sociological rather than economic in character, and contains the results of a two years' investigation carried out by

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the author in a New York tenement section. Two hundred families, with an average income of about $850, were induced to co-operate in the investigation by keeping strict account of their income and expenses, itemizing the latter in account-books which showed the expenditures for a great variety of commodities—ranging from house rent, food, and clothing, to reading matter, outings, and alcoholic drinks. Tabulating the statistics thus obtained, and subjecting them to close and critical analysis, Mrs. More has been able to draw some conclusions which, if not entirely free from the objections applicable to all inquiries of this kind, undoubtedly add to our concrete knowledge of life among the poor in the largest of American cities.

It is possible here to give only the most important of her findings. The statistics indicate, it seems, that the greater the income the smaller the relative percentage of outlay for food, and that as the income increases the percentage of outlay for "sundries" also increases. This is confirmatory of two of the four propositions laid down by Engel as the result of a similar, though more extensive, investigation. But the remaining propositions of Engel's "law" are not confirmed by Mrs. More's inquiry. He held that the percentage of outlay for clothing, lodging, fuel, and light is the same whatever the income. Mrs. More's statistics go to prove, on the contrary, that the percentage expended for lodging, fuel, and light tends to decrease, while for clothing it tends steadily to increase, the greater the income. On the other hand, her investigation fully bears out the claims of English and other foreign economic observers that the American workingman fares better, with respect to abundance and variety of food, than does the workingman of other countries. Still, one has only to glance through her pages to realize that the lot even of the American workingman and his family leaves much to be desired.

In conclusion, we should say that, while they differ from one another in value, all of these books will be found helpful by those who desire to obtain a thorough understanding of existing conditions, tendencies, and problems.

Comment on Current Books

A Study of Judaism

The Christian scholars who have written this book for non-Jewish readers[1] commend it to thoughtful consideration. They are strong "Churchmen;" one of them holds the high-church view that "sacraments are the condition of salvation." But they declare that their study of Judaism has been profitable to them both mentally and spiritually. They "are convinced that Judaism and Christianity are mutually essential to each other," and that their advocates should give "the right hand of fellowship to each other." This accords well with the remark of a Western college president in a letter opened by chance together with this book: "The best of modern Jewry is a mighty force, and a growing one. . . . There is something too high and fine there for this world to be able to spare in its present crises." The three sections of this volume—History and Sources, Dogmatic Judaism, and Practical Religion—put in compact form the essential points of information which the fortunate possessor of the Jewish Encyclopædia—the joint product of Jewish and Christian scholars—finds in its twelve volumes. But "Judaism as *a living whole*—a vital organism with a soul and genius of its own," is the central interest of the book. The underlying unity of all its types is racial, but the dominant peculiarity of all is religion, or a form of religion. In this the intellectual element is strong—a point in which many Christians are deficient. Why it should be said that Judaism is correspondingly weak, in having "little sympathy to offer to the unlearned, the ignorant, the weak, the fallen," one is at a loss to see in view of the splended charities of its progressive wing. The British authors have comparatively little to say of Reformed Judaism, the best development of which is in the United States. That the reforming movement came into being with the design "to stem the tide of unbelief" in dogmatic Judaism, and its drift away from the synagogue, is not quite true historically, though its alliance with the modern spirit in effort to

[1] The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue. By W. O. E. Oesterley, B.D., and G. H. Box, M.A. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3.

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that end is now apparent. That it is, at least to a large extent, "painfully deficient in anything like religious warmth" must be confessed—a lack often observed and confessed, it should be said, among certain Christians. Study of Judaism with due recognition of its character as essentially an Oriental religion, and acquaintance especially with the literature it produced in the gap of centuries between Malachi and Matthew, correct much defective exegesis by Christian writers. That divine revelation has never ceased is a truth which many Christians need to learn from the Jew. That those who have gone before us into the world of spirits are not to be dropped from loving remembrance in our prayers is a truth which the synagogue teaches the church to cherish. Among the prayer-books found in Christian homes the Union Prayer Book—a choice product of Reformed Judaism—deserves a place, such is the religious sympathy it generates, as well as the better understanding it promotes.

Religion Rationalized

The germ of this volume,[1] and certain pages of it, are found in the author's work on "The Representative Significance of Form" (reviewed in The Outlook of January 12, 1901)—the second of his seven volumes on Comparative Æsthetics published during his professorship in Princeton. He finds modern science training the mind to be candid and logical, but theology otherwise inclined—a fact which, if true of the theologians with whom Dr. Raymond has been associated, and of the anti-modernists of the Vatican, is certainly not true of all others. "In all religions," he observes, "there is more or less acknowledgment of the existence of an occult method of influencing the mind, irrespective of the ordinary methods of communicating with it through one of the five senses." This fact he correlates with the psychological doctrine of the sub-conscious mind—the hidden spring whence well up the influences of the Power not our own in the intuitions, the inspirations, which effect the progress of knowledge, of ethics, of art, of religion. The central thesis of this volume is that truth is thus brought into the field of ordinary consciousness not in dictated form, but *suggestively*. The recipient of truth thus rising in the realm of spirit—whether he be a primitive savage or a modern savant who thus shares "the light that lighteth every man"—has then to correlate this truth, according to his measure of knowledge, with his perceptions in the realm of matter. These suggestive glimpses of truth issuing from the sub-conscious depths of nature, and modified by the dominant consciousness of the various percipients, each in his own way, are the common source of all religions and all churches. The claims of these to general acceptance depend on their conformableness to advancing knowledge. Professor Raymond devotes many pages to showing how psychology illustrates this theory of divine inspiration, so that the highest conception of its source and authority is reconcilable with the most radical Biblical criticism. "Liberal Christianity," he concludes, "is the only logical Christianity."

[1] The Psychology of Inspiration. By George Lansing Raymond. The Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. $1.40, net.

Fleeting Glimpses of Italy

The author of this handsomely printed book[1] disarms criticism at the outset by stating that it is made up of notes taken on a trip by automobile and in two or three months. In point of fact, the author evidently found time to make a far more careful study of Italian art and architecture (and especially in small places not often visited) than is shown in far more pretentious books. His work with a camera also is worth really serious commendation because it includes glimpses of truly typical bits of the country and of the people. When we add that the volume contains also a large number of capital reproductions of photographs of famous works of art, it is evident that the lover of Italy, if he does not expect an elaborate work, will find here much worth having and preserving.

The Lonely House

A generation ago readers of good fiction were not led astray when they followed Mrs. Wister and read her various translations from the German, especially the novels of E. Marlitt. These were not simply idiomatic renderings; they were intelligent and sympathetic transpositions from one language to another, and they had the wide success which they deserved. In her latest translation[2] Mrs. Wister has chosen a theme of an entirely different sort. "The Lonely House" is the story of a tragedy with a considerable element of detective interest. It is done with Mrs. Wister's trained skill, thorough knowledge of German, and admirable taste.

Petrarch and His Times

This[3] is a new volume in the Humanists' Library, and, like all these books, is a notable piece of book-making, having distinction and elegance in its choice of type (a new font especially designed for the purpose),

[1] Through Italy with Car and Camera. By Dan Fellows Platt. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
[2] The Lonely House. By Mrs. A. L. Wister. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $1.50.
[3] Petrarch and the Ancient World. By Pierre de Nolhac. (The Humanists' Library.) The Merrymount Press, Boston.

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in the quality of the paper, and in all other details of its format. Coming to the work itself, we find that M. de Nolhac has written carefully and with enthusiasm about certain aspects of Petrarch's relations to the world of letters of his time. He regards Petrarch as the initiator of the Renaissance, and upholds this theme with knowledge and skill, although he recognizes the poet's obligations to his masters, Virgil and Cicero. Not the least interesting and certainly the most novel part of his monograph is that which deals with Petrarch's library—its contents and character as reconstructed from the references found in his own works.

Studies in Literature

The author, Dr. T. E. Dewey, who died not long ago, had gained for himself a high reputation as a lecturer and as an interpreter of literature. As Mr. C. M. Harger, in an introduction, tells us, he advanced in intellectual interest from the ordinary work of an attorney and politician who dealt with material things, on to eager and loving study of the æsthetic and the purely literary. In time he came to be recognized as an authority on questions of literature and art and as a kindly but keen-minded critic. This volume[1] contains essays on poetry in song (a somewhat extended piece of work), on literary truth, on several of the world's recognized great poets, and on Masonry in its aspects to the state and the individual (the author had long felt the charm of Masonry, and stood high in the craft), together with a few simple, earnest poems which were unquestionably worth preservation in this form.

The Parliament of Man

Those who were present last summer at the second Hague Conference and those specially interested in that Conference, though absent from it, will welcome the appearance of a book[1] giving the portraits and short biographies of the delegates. The volume is edited by Mr. W. T. Stead, editor of the English Review of Reviews, and also of the daily Courrier de la Conférence, published during the term of the 1907 Conference. The work is a kind of illustrated "Who's Who," and has been excellently carried out in every respect.

Glasgow Addresses

This volume of thirty-one short sermons[2] is helpful to solve the frequent problem presented by the Sunday evening service in city churches. They deal attractively and simply with the points of thought and duty which emerge in common experience, and are suffused both with human sympathy and with religious fervor. For these reasons their practical value is unimpaired by an occasional drop of antiquated dogma—as that human death was introduced by human sin. There is a subtle suggestiveness in the title chosen for these evening addresses.

[1] Poetry in Song and Some Other Studies in Literature. By Thomas Emmet Dewey, Litt.D. The Franklin Hudson Publishing Company, Kansas City, Mo.

[1] Le Parlement de l'Humanité (La Conférence de la Paix à la Haye, 1907). Biographies et Photographies. Rédigé par William T. Stead. Maas & Van Suchtelen, Amsterdam.

[2] The Wings of the Morning: Addresses from a Glasgow Pulpit. By the Rev. G. H. Morrison. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. $1.50.

Letters to The Outlook

THE NAUTILUS

I thank your correspondent for calling my attention to the inexcusable slip I made in my December article on "The Reasonable but Unreasoning Animals" about the nautilus. I thoughtlessly took it for granted that the old legend about the nautilus and its sail was true, but of course it is not. It is no better natural history than the legend of the mermaid or of the siren. Such pretty fables rarely have any truth back of them. The physalia or Portuguese man-of-war has a kind of sail on its air-sack that helps it sail to windward.

JOHN BURROUGHS.

West Park, New York.

THE WASP THE FIRST WOOD-PULP-PAPER MAKER

In the article by Mr. Burroughs in The Outlook for December 14, '07, he says: "I do not know that we first learned the art of paper-making from the hornets, but certain it is that they hold the original patent for making paper from wood pulp." It may interest the writer to learn that what he suggests is a fact. The process of making paper from this material was first proposed and perfected by Dr. Hiram H. Hill, of Augusta, Maine, who took the idea from the hornets' method in building their nests.

THOMAS W. LUCE.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

ARE ARMIES POLICE?

The letter of Charles F. Dole in The Outlook of December 7, with your editorial reply, has profoundly interested and stirred the members of the Delaware Peace Society, for whom I speak, and for whom I would

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ask to present the issues with which the article deals, in a somewhat different light.

Is it true that the armies and navies of the world are in any true sense a police force? What police duty do they perform? We who are working for disarmament claim that their only function is to inspire other nations with fear; to overawe and hold in check the predatory spirit, which has been shown so forcibly whenever one of the Great Powers of Europe has had dealings with weaker nations or tribes; and thus the nations "buy terror" of each other at a cost of at least $2,000,000,000 per annum.

And the price paid by each nation, for thus inspiring in other nations the respect born of fear, has become an incubus that paralyzes all healthful, progressive movements, and fills every country with industrial slaves or paupers; and the feeling of security, for which the money is spent, is not in the slightest degree attained. Civilized societies have long since found that to allow the individual to carry deadly weapons weakens the power of the police whose duty it is to enforce the law. Just for a moment compare the feeling of security that is enjoyed by the citizen of a law-abiding community, who is forbidden to carry arms and who relies on the police in times of danger or invasion of his rights, with the feeling of terror and alarm which prevails in certain counties in Kentucky, where family feuds have caused every man to take sides and where every one goes armed to the teeth.

The remedy is a simple and easily applied one, as was plainly shown when England, France, Germany, the United States, and Japan united their forces to compel China to obey the law of nations. How small would be the force required of each nation to force a recalcitrant state to bow to the decrees of the Hague Court were an agreement once reached by which international law, as agreed upon by all nations, were left to an army and navy to enforce, which should be in truth a police force, and which should be recruited from all nations in proportion to the population of each.

Such an international police force, which should rendezvous at some convenient port, and whose ships and men would be kept in instant readiness to suppress lawlessness, need not draw more than 144,000 men from industrial occupations, where over 4,000,000 now are non-productive because they are withdrawn for military service.

Taxes in war-cursed Italy amount to thirty per cent of total incomes, and the Italians are fleeing from the land they love as though it were infested with pestilence. The Russian peasant is often called upon to pay two-thirds of all he can earn, and life in that country has become a burden to the lower classes. Even in England, which overflows with wealth drawn from all over the world, the rate of taxation has become an almost unbearable burden; and in the United States the rate of taxation is constantly rising, all for the simple reason that nations seek security in the way by which it never comes—by inspiring their neighbors with terror and fear, instead of with confidence and love. The time has come for national boundaries to be swept away and forgotten by those who believe in the brotherhood of humanity.

WILLIAM CANBY FERRIS.

Wilmington, Delaware.

THE TUBERCULOSIS PANIC

I think it is high time something was done to bring about a more rational attitude on the part of the public toward tubercular patients. A generation ago few thought tuberculosis curable, but none were afraid of "catching it." Now nearly every one knows it is curable, but those afflicted with it are treated as if they had smallpox. This unreasonable and ignorant attitude makes the life of the patient more depressing and much more difficult. In some places the prejudice is such that the patient who admits having tuberculosis is ostracised, and even the name itself is nervously avoided in conversation. The writer has tried various health resorts in the Adirondacks, Canada, Colorado, New Mexico, and North Carolina. Everywhere, except in Colorado, he has found this unreasonable fear greatly complicating the regimen of the patient.

As a matter of fact, science and experience have shown that the greater part of this fear is groundless. It has been proved that the tubercle bacillus does not live or propagate naturally or easily in the human body. It is only in those who are much run down from poor food, overwork, or worry, or from the effects of disease such as typhoid fever, for instance, who are in danger of infection. It has been proved that bacilli die if directly exposed to the rays of the sun for two minutes, and even behind glass they are killed by two hours of exposure. It is only in dirty slums and sweatshops and overcrowded tenements that the bacilli can thrive and propagate. People with normal vitality, living under sanitary conditions, who are clean and well fed and who get the proper amount of fresh air, need have no fear of infection.

I am very sure the public has no idea how difficult it is for the tubercular patient to find proper accommodations even in the health resorts. There are a number of

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hospitals and sanatoria, and it is probable that advanced cases, and those who cough and expectorate much, are better off in such establishments. But for the incipient and convalescent cases there is little or no provision, and the public, so far, has not discriminated between such cases and those from which infection is possible. This is true, although it has long ago been proved that only patients who have an abundant loose cough or profuse expectoration are to be feared, and then only if they fail to take proper precautions.

Judging from my own experience, I believe that the depressing atmosphere, the constant reminders of sickness, and the poor food and service found in many sanatoriums make it seem often unwise for an incipient or convalescent case to go to one. This is especially true of those patients who are accustomed to luxuries and special comforts. If the patient's means do not permit him to have a separate household, he is obliged to go to a boarding-house or hotel. Now, in health resorts, nearly all hotels and boarding-houses conspicuously advertise not to take tubercular invalids, and much lying results. In such places I have almost invariably found patients suffering from tuberculosis. They are obliged to explain their symptoms in all sorts of ways, and sometimes invent quite extraordinary diseases to do so. If they are clever deceivers they can stay, but it is impossible, under those circumstances, to take the cure properly. Much resting and sitting out-of-doors, which necessitates steamer chairs, rugs, etc., at once lays the patients open to suspicion. Sufferers from other diseases may do these things, but the poor man who is afflicted with tuberculosis is turned out, even if his condition is such as to make him quite harmless.

I feel that the public should be made to understand—first, that many patients are innocuous; second, that proper precautions can completely eliminate the danger of infection; and, third, to explain what the precautions are. I mean such simple precautions as: The proper disposal of all sputa; the covering of the mouth when coughing; the washing in boiling water of all table linen, glass, and silver, and all handkerchiefs, towels, and bed linen, etc.; the proper ventilation of rooms, halls, offices, shops, etc.; the airing of bedrooms and the disinfection of same when the occupant leaves. There is no reason why all these precautions cannot be insisted upon in all cases whatsoever, whether there is tuberculosis about or not, and much good would result therefrom.

The present attitude of the public is not only very unscientific and unwise, but positively dangerous, for it leads to deception and results in the actual omission of care in order to avoid being identified as one of the infected. Only those who have been affected themselves or who have made a special study of the subject realize the frightfully unsanitary conditions that frequently result from this fear of detection. Let the energy now wasted in running away from the tubercular patient and having him turned out of hotels be used, instead, to bring about in all places and under all circumstances a truly hygienic condition. Then the danger of infection, not only from tuberculosis but from other diseases, will be reduced to a minimum and at the same time the life of the tubercular patient be made less hard and loathsome by doing away with an unreasonable prejudice.

A CONVALESCENT.

[The Society for the Control of Tuberculosis, Saranac Lake, New York, has issued a pamphlet on this subject which ought to be read by those whose lives are touched in any way by tuberculosis. It confirms the position taken by our correspondent.—THE EDITORS.]

DR. PRITCHETT'S ARGUMENT FOR A STRONG NAVY

President Pritchett contributes an elaborate article to The Outlook for January 11 in defense of President Roosevelt's "Doctrine of a Strong Navy." Boiled down, the argument is this: Man is a fighting animal. Both as individuals and as nations men have always quarreled; and even after they have become civilized, they quarrel still. Notwithstanding all that has been accomplished in thousands of years by way of reducing the frequency and savageness of wars, they have not been abolished; and thousands of years must yet pass before civilization can be expected to bring war entirely to an end. Therefore there is always a possibility that we may have to fight; consequently we ought always to be ready to fight; hence we ought to have a large navy. Q. E. D.

Now let us come down from these generalities to certain plain facts. We have had a national existence of one hundred and twenty years. Up to within a few years we have had a very small navy and a very small army; and we have never been attacked by any foreign power. We have had three foreign wars, in every one of which we have been the attacking party. It is very certain that our having a small army and navy has not brought any war upon us. And the danger of being attacked must now be less than ever before because of our much larger population and larger resources. Yet, if Dr. Pritchett's argument is valid, we ought to

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have been spending something like fifty million dollars annually in building and equipping war-ships from the very beginning, for the purpose of guarding against a danger which in one hundred and twenty years has shown no signs of appearing, and which no telescopic or microscopic gaze is yet able to descry. Would that have been wisdom or sound statesmanship? Is it practical common sense to be spending millions upon millions on war-ships, in order to be prepared for a mere possibility of danger which actual experience furnishes no ground for anticipating?

This enormous navy, we are told, is designed not for waging war but for preserving peace. It should be so large as to deter any power from attacking us and so be a great peacemaker. How delightful! But of course a doctrine that is good for us must be equally good for all nations. Accordingly, if we need to have a navy large enough to frighten the biggest nation in the world, then every other nation has the same need; and the logical consequence must be a never-ending rivalry in inventing and constructing larger and more destructive war-ships. If perfect security against attack from another power can be gained only by having a bigger navy or army than that other power, then the ideal condition of assured peace—perfect and universal—is to be secured by *every* nation's having so much bigger a fighting force than *every other* that no one of them will ever dare to play the aggressor! How this can be accomplished, perhaps Dr. Pritchett is mathematician enough to figure up. This picture of a state of universal peace—all the nations of the world armed to the teeth, and not fighting only because no one dares to begin the fight—differs slightly from the old prophet Micah's conception: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." But poor old Micah was not "up to date."

But, seriously, President Roosevelt and Dr. Pritchett know perfectly well that we are practically impregnable against attack from without, unless possibly our Philippine possessions might be assailed. And, undoubtedly, if we were not only fools enough to saddle ourselves with such an exposure in the first place, but mean to be fools enough to fight an enormously expensive war in order to preserve what is at the best already nothing but a bill of expense to us, then, to be sure, we shall need a large navy, and perhaps be thrashed after all. But the mere possibility of such a war ought to be enough to lead us to relieve ourselves of the Philippines by giving them—what ought to be given anyway—their independence, guaranteed by neutralization, as that of Switzerland and Belgium is guaranteed.

Aside from this possibility of war over the Philippines (and this is only a rather remote one), no one can discern any danger of assault from without which need alarm the most timid. But even if such danger should appear, President Roosevelt knows that, though compulsory international arbitration has not been attained, arbitration could in any conceivable case be resorted to. If he wants peace, he can make sure of it in that way. There is some slight reason why the European nations—crowded close together as they are—should keep up heavy armaments. For us, protected by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, there is none at all.

C. M. MEAD.

New Haven, Connecticut.

THE FLOW OF IMMIGRATION

I notice your repetition (The Outlook, January 11, 1907) of the statements made quite frequently recently about the return of emigrants in large numbers to the lands whence they came. You say, for instance, that "550,000 went back to Europe last year, or more than two-fifths of the number that came." Again, "The total number coming here in ten years is 7,753,000. The number who have returned, 2,500,000."

I think in the conclusions so commonly drawn from these facts it is overlooked that a great many of the number returning are doing so on a visit only. I think I could name twenty-five persons of my acquaintance who have revisited their homes from one to three times in the past ten years. Most of these have gone in the steerage, but have returned in the second cabin. They are not willing to come back with the hordes of newcomers, but are willing to economize and go to Europe by steerage.

I do not believe for a moment that one-third of the emigrants have returned permanently to their former homes. I should be surprised if the number is over one-fifth, and maybe as low as one-tenth. The others stay for a short or long visit and then come back.

E. G. RICHARDSON.

Brooklyn, New York.

[No doubt some allowance must be made for the re-return, but it is very difficult to say how much. Experts think that it would not amount to a very large fraction of the whole, and it must be remembered that the part of it which comes through the steerage has been reckoned as new immigration. Hereafter, statistics on this point are to be collected.—THE EDITORS.]

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COLORADO COLLEGE

Colorado College has been successful in its campaign to add $500,000 to its endowment funds. Three years ago the Trustees, finding that the expenses of the College were rapidly outstripping its income, initiated the effort to increase the endowment and wipe out the deficit, which was becoming increasingly difficult to handle. General William J. Palmer promptly subscribed $100,000, Mr. Carnegie added $50,000, Miss Helen Gould $10,000, Mr. J. M. Bemis $50,000, Mr. Henry R. Wolcott, of Denver, Mr. C. M. McNeill, and Mr. W. S. Jackson, of Colorado Springs, $25,000 and $10,000 respectively. The General Education Board, after a careful examination of the College, made a subscription conditioned, as were most of the other pledges, on the raising of the whole amount, but with the added stipulation that the whole amount must be subscribed by January 1, 1908. Other smaller subscriptions brought the total amount up to $375,000. The final effort was about to be made when the financial disturbance set in and the situation seemed hopeless. But a friend of the College came forward with a pledge of $75,000, and a "whirlwind campaign" was inaugurated which brought in $56,897 in fifteen days, a sum which has since been increased to over $62,000, making the total sum raised over $512,000. This, added to the endowment the College already has, makes a grand total of nearly $915,000. The subscriptions came from all classes, from motormen and letter-carriers as well as from mine-owners and retired capitalists. The splendid achievement, completed as it has been in times of financial stress, is a testimony to the quality of the work of the College and to the confidence Colorado Springs and the State of Colorado and the country at large have in Dr. Slocum's administration. The College holds a strategical point in the educational field of the Rocky Mountain district, and its location makes it peculiarly necessary for students who need building up physically during the undergraduate period. * *

REMARKABLE GROWTH OF LEGAL AID WORK

Statistics of the work in New York City of the Legal Aid Society for the year 1907 have just been completed by the attorney, Merrill E. Gates, Jr. The total number of applicants who came to the six offices of the Society during the year was 26,399. In 1906 the number of applications for legal relief were 23,175. This is an increase of more than 3,000 cases, or about fourteen per cent.

At the main office of the Society, 239 Broadway, opposite City Hall Park, 8,894 cases were handled. That office always has done an immense volume of business, on account of being the oldest and best-known office of the Society. The Branch for Seamen, at 1 Broadway, had 3,783 applications. At the East Side Branch, 254 Grand Street, there were 4,193 cases, practically all the applicants being Russian Jews living in the heart of the East Side. At the West Side office, 741 Tenth Avenue, which is supported principally by the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, 3,061 cases were handled.

At the Harlem Branch, 2016 Lexington Avenue, which cares for the poor people living in Harlem and the Bronx, 4,846 cases were attended to by the assistant attorneys at that office. The Brooklyn office, 186 Remsen Street, Brooklyn, which was opened a year ago, has received 2,622 applications for legal aid, and has clearly justified the wisdom of the directors of the Society in establishing this branch.

The total value of the money and property recovered for clients in all of the six offices for the year 1907 was $90,216.16, as compared with $72,633.90 for 1906. This is an increase of about twenty-four per cent in collections for clients.

The amount received by the attorney, Merrill E. Gates, Jr., from all the clients for fees and commissions, and turned over by him to the treasurer, Louis Windmuller, 20 Reade Street, was $6,623. Last year this sum amounted to $5,002.43. Under the rules of the Society, a commission of ten per cent is charged by the attorney upon all sums of $5 or more recovered for clients, while the regular retaining fee is ten cents for each case, to which, in certain classes of cases, is added the legal fee of fifteen cents. Statistics kept by the attorney, however, show that at least one-third of the clients are unable to pay this purely nominal fee, on account of their impoverished condition.

The Legal Aid Society is one of the worthiest and most efficient charities in the city, and the report of the work for the past year shows that the Society attained a higher degree of efficiency than ever before in serving the interests of the poor of the city by relieving them from oppression and distress, in taking up cases that the ordinary attorney is unwilling or unable to handle.

A CORRECTION

In The Week of The Outlook of December 21, in the paragraph entitled "The Effect of Light in Boston," reference is made to the Finance Commission appointed to investigate the affairs of the city as having been ap-

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pointed by the Governor. The fact is, it was appointed by the Mayor, each appointee having been nominated by some mercantile organization, after an order passed by the City Council providing for such a Commission. The Act of Legislature merely endowed the Commission with certain powers such as summoning witnesses, administering oaths, etc., and the only active part the Governor had was signing the bill. The error is, of course, not important, but it is interesting to know that Boston can, when necessary, probe her affairs through a Commission provided for by her own City Council and appointed by her own Executive.

The Mayor appointed the Commission only after being really forced to do so, and then alternately took upon himself the credit of the work of the Commission in unearthing corrupt conditions (which, of course, it was his own business to have known and corrected) and accused the Commission of making these conditions known for political effect and to defeat him on election day.

It is probable that if the Commission had been appointed by the Governor, as was at first urged and suggested, its work would have made much less impression, the people being jealous of interference by the Legislature. In this case the Mayor would have posed as a martyr to State interference, and might have been re-elected by a good plurality.

JOHN MACMILLAN.

Boston, Massachusetts.

[This important subject is treated rather fully in our editorial columns this week.—THE EDITORS.]

A NON-FRATERNITY FEDERATION

Of large significance to those interested in the growth of the spirit of democracy among the American colleges is the recent formation of the National Commons Club, whose second annual Convention was held on January 10 and 11 at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

This federation of the non-fraternity clubs of the Eastern colleges was established in December, 1906, at Dartmouth, and is now composed of societies of neutrals from Brown, Wesleyan, Norwich, and Middlebury, while the non-fraternity elements at Amherst, Union, and Colgate, which were also represented at the recent Convention, seem likely to ally themselves with the central organization in the near future.

The aim of the National Commons Club, as set forth in its constitution, is "to bind together the non-fraternity clubs in the American colleges, thus securing to them a closer brotherhood and strengthening the spirit of democracy."

It is the endeavor of the individual clubs of the National society to unite the non-fraternity elements of their respective colleges into strong organizations, thus securing to them the many advantages—social, intellectual, and moral—which such associations naturally vouchsafe. While in no sense anti-fraternity, they each differ from the modern fraternities in this important respect: they endeavor to give an opportunity to all men of good moral character to join their ranks, irrespective of their wealth or social position.

Each of these organizations has arisen in response to a definite need. The increasing expensiveness and exclusiveness of college fraternities had led to a large group of unorganized non-fraternity men. Without adequate representation, possessed of scanty social advantages, lacking that stimulus toward the highest development which membership in a good college society affords, and without any permanent ties to any portion of the undergraduate body after graduation, many of this number dropped out of college, while those who remained secured but a one-sided development. It was to fill this need of the non-fraternity element that these neutral organizations were established.

The Wesleyan Commons Club, the oldest and strongest of the group, was formed in 1899. Patterned after it were the Norwich and Middlebury clubs, while the others mentioned were established independently. All are progressing steadily, and, standing as they do for broad, democratic brotherhood, they are attracting to their ranks some of the strongest men in the various colleges. Their growth is due in no small measure to the efforts of these men as well as those who, though with many a rough edge on their entrance into club life, have often developed, through the advantages afforded by the club, and become peers of any in the student body. So successful has been the policy of non-exclusiveness as pursued by such a club as the Wesleyan organization that this society, which includes about one-fifth of the undergraduate members, is now recognized as one of the strongest organizations in the College.

Growing as it has in the past, and typifying as it does the spirit of the coming age, the National Commons Club seems likely to have before it a future bright with possibilities. A systematic effort to further extend the influence of the Club will be made during the coming year. A New York alumni association has already been formed.

H. W. L.

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